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## THE OLD ENGLISH OFFA SAGA.

### I.

It has long been recognized that the epic hero Offa of "Ongle," first mentioned in *Widsið* and *Beowulf*, by the end of the twelfth century had become confused in tradition with the historic Offa of Mercia (757-96). The question of the origin and relationships of the stories attached to the name Offa, touched upon by Gramm,<sup>1</sup> Langebek,<sup>2</sup> Suhm,<sup>3</sup> Dahlmann,<sup>4</sup> and Müller-Velschow,<sup>5</sup> in connection with the Danish traditions written down by Sveno Aggonis (about 1185) and Saxo Grammaticus (before 1208), and discussed in connection with *Beowulf* by Kemble,<sup>6</sup> Lappenberg,<sup>7</sup> Suchier,<sup>8</sup> Ten Brink,<sup>9</sup> Müllenhoff,<sup>10</sup> and Olrik<sup>11</sup> especially, has up to the present time reached no more definite conclusion than that stated by Ten Brink,<sup>12</sup> in speaking of the twelfth century, as follows:

Das alte Epos war schwerlich mehr lebendig, doch wurde noch manches Stück epischer Sage, wenn auch in modifizierter Gestalt, fortgepflanzt. So die Sage vom alten, epischen Angelnkönig Offa, die man auf den grossen Offa von Mercien übertragen hatte.<sup>13</sup>

It is the aim of the present paper (1) to separate, as far as possible, the materials belonging to the lost saga of the epic *Offa* from legends attached directly to the name of the historic king; (2) to trace, as far as possible, the sources of the separate stories

<sup>1</sup> MEVESII, *Opera* (Florence, 1746), IX, cols. 35 F., 36 D, E, F.

<sup>2</sup> *Scriptores Rerum Danicarum Medii Ævi* (Copenhagen, 1772), I, 45, n. \*.

<sup>3</sup> SUHM-GRÄTER, *Geschichte der Dänen* (Leipzig, 1803), I, 111-55.

<sup>4</sup> *Forschungen auf dem Gebiete der Geschichte* (Altona, 1822), I, 233-37.

<sup>5</sup> *Saxonis Grammatici Historia Danica* (Copenhagen, 1858), Pars II, 137-39.

<sup>6</sup> *Beowulf* (London, 1837), xxx-xxxvi.

<sup>7</sup> *Gesch. von Eng.* (HEEREN U. UKENT, *Europ. Staaten*, I, II, Hamburg, 1834), 222-32.

<sup>8</sup> PAUL U. BRAUNE, *Beiträge*, etc. (Halle, 1876), IV, 500-521.

<sup>9</sup> *Quell. und Forsch.* (Strassburg, 1888), LXII, 116-18, 221, 222, 229-31.

<sup>10</sup> *Beowulf* (Berlin, 1889), 72-88.

<sup>11</sup> *Arkiv f. nord. Fil.*, Ny Følge, Fjerde Bind, 4. Hæfte (Christiania), 368-75.

<sup>12</sup> *Gesch. der Eng. Lit.* ed. BRANDL (Strassburg, 1899), 174.

<sup>13</sup> SUCHIER (P. U. B., *Beitr.*, IV, 500) gives a bibliography of the early discussions. To his list and the names given above may be added: PAUL, *Grundriss* (Strassburg, 1891-93), II, 534; BROOKE, *Hist. of Early Eng. Lit.* (New York and London, 1892), 67, note, 76, 253.

and the process by which the two figures came to be confused; (3) to indicate the probable content of the lost saga; (4) to form, if possible, some conclusion in regard to its relationship to other sagas known in England and the place of the personality of Offa in Old English and mediæval literature.

The chief basis for this study is the *Vitae Duorum Offarum*,<sup>1</sup> of which the oldest manuscript is Cotton Nero D I<sup>2</sup> (fols. 2-25), believed to be the original *Liber Additamentorum* written under the direction of Matthew Paris before 1259 and intended by him to illustrate his *Chronica Majora*.<sup>3</sup> Since *V* contains most of the non-historical material relative to Offa of Mercia, and the only detailed account of the earlier *Offa* written in England, an inquiry into its authorship may throw light upon its sources.

It is certain that the writer was a monk of St. Albans,<sup>4</sup> not Matthew Paris;<sup>5</sup> and probable that the time of its composition was during the abbacy of John de Cella (1195-1214).<sup>6</sup> Luard maintains that the abbot himself compiled *CM* 1,<sup>7</sup> and suggests, though on very slight grounds, that he may also have written *V*.<sup>8</sup>

Another chronicle, however, likewise written at St. Albans, and

<sup>1</sup> Hereafter referred to as *V*, or *V* 1 and *V* 2, when it is necessary to distinguish between the two parts; the kings, as O1 and O2 respectively.

<sup>2</sup> Published by William Wats, 1639, as an appendix to his reprint of part of the *Chronica Majora*, London, 1640; again in 1641-40; 1644 (Paris); London, 1684-83-82. All references will be to the edition of 1640-39; but quotations from MS Nero D I, as Wats sometimes takes liberties with the text.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. LUARD, *Matthæi Parisiensis . . . Chronica Majora*, Rolls Series (*CM*), 1882, VI, vii-x; RILEY, *Chronica Monasterii S. Albani, Gesta Abbatum*, Rolls Series, 1867, I, xi, xii.

<sup>4</sup> The only other MSS are Cotton Claudius E IV, fols. 84-97 (cf. RILEY, *Gest. Abb.*, I, ix-xi), and Vitellius A XX, fols. 67-70 (cf. MADDEN, *Matthæi Parisiensis . . . Historia Anglorum*, Rolls Series, 1866, I, xxiv n. i, and li n. 1). All contain matters relating almost entirely to the affairs of St. Albans. Nero D I and Claudius E IV were written in the scriptorium of St. Albans; Vitellius A XX consists of a copy of selections presented to the cell of St. Albans at Dunstable.

<sup>5</sup> Aside from the question of date, Paris misunderstands and wrongly emends *V*. Cf. LUARD, *CM*, I, lxxix, lxxx.

<sup>6</sup> It is quoted largely in the original text of the *Chronica Majora* upon which Paris and Wendover based their works, which could not have been written earlier than 1195-1214, because it also uses Comestor's *Historia Scholastica cum Allegoriis*, first brought to St. Albans and copied in the time of John de Cella. Cf. RILEY, *Gest. Abb.*, I, 233; also LUARD *CM*, I, xxxii; SUCHIER (P. U. B., *Beitr.*, IV, 507); and HARDY, *Descriptive Catalogue of Materials Relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland*, Rolls Series, 1862, I, 499.

<sup>7</sup> *CM*, II, x-xii; VII, ix-xii. The letters *CM* represent the text of PARIS as edited by LUARD in the Rolls Series. When the original chronicle is to be distinguished from the versions of WENDOVER and PARIS, I call it, as here, *CM* 1.

<sup>8</sup> *CM*, I, xxxii, xxxiii.

preserved in the unique MS Cotton Julius D VII (fols. 10–33b),<sup>1</sup> forms a curious connecting link between *CM1* and *V*, suggests strongly that Abbot John may be the author of all three works, and gives information in regard to the character of the sources used in *V*.

That *J* is earlier than *CM1* appears from the fact that, while it declares and reveals acquaintance with the principal twelfth-century chroniclers of English history and with none of later date, it either shows ignorance or blunders in regard to many points for which *CM1*, followed by Wendover and Paris, became until modern times the chief authority.<sup>2</sup>

Of Offa it says:

Solent autem de isto Offa multa narrari, *que eciam relinquimus pro incertis et apocriphis. Ea tamen in cedulis notauimus vt si quando uera possint uel probari uel certe deprehendi maiori operi commendemus.*

Again:

Anno primo sequente occidit in campestri ut dicunt bello sanctum Ethelbrithum regem Westsaxonum, re *quidem* uera sed causa incerta. Eumque solum neuum glorie sue prehabite reliquit. Porro nec ipse diu super morte eius gauisus est. Nam anno abhinc tercio hoc est ab incarnatione domini DCCXCVI et ipse obiit, sepultusque est ut dicunt in Usa flumine iuxta Bedeford. Multa *quidem* et alia his eque commemoranda de uiro isto audiui, *que cum* ueriora esse constiterit, alias Deo largiente, explicabo.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hereafter alluded to as *J*. Printed with many omissions by GALE in his *Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores*, Oxford, 1691, III, 525–54, under the title *Chronica Joannis Wallingford*, although there is no reason for believing that John de Wallingford was the author. He owned the book (cf. rubric on fol. 1b); a drawing of him with his name and office (*infirmarius*) is on fol. 42b; while on fols. 112b–113b is an obituary list of the monastery from 1231 to 1258, with a rubric indicating that he kept the list: “Hic scribuntur nomina fratrum de professione sancti Albani defunctorum a susceptione fratris Johannis de Walingeford in eodem ordine, videlicet a die sanctorum Dionisii, Rustici et Eleutherii, anno ab incarnatione domini MCC XXX primo.” In 1258, in another hand occurs the notice of his death, with the addition, which may have misled Gale, “sacerdos, dominus et scriptor huius libri.” As the MS is in several hands (cf., for instance, fols. 10a, 26a, 61a), *scriptor* cannot mean copyist; and as extracts from the *Historia Anglorum* by Henry of Huntingdon are included (fols. 46b ff.), it cannot mean author of the whole. But a chronicle (agreeing in parts very closely with that published in the Rolls series under the name of John of Oxened), on fols. 61a–110a, appears to be in the same hand as the obituary, from which it is separated only by two blank ruled leaves, and as this chronicle stops abruptly in 1258, it was perhaps written or copied by Wallingford. It shows no resemblance to *J*. A rubric (fol. 46b) seems to indicate that the book is a collection from various sources: “Prefaciuncula in cronicis fratris Johannis de Walingeford excerpta a cronicis diuersorum ystoriographorum.” Cf. MADDEN, *Hist. Anglor.*, I, lv n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> This point will become clear in the discussion of the relationship between *J* and *CM1*. The MS was written before 1259.

<sup>3</sup> Fols. 13, 13b; GALE, III, 529, 530. I quote from the MS, because Gale sometimes prints wrongly.

These words can mean only that the stories alluded to were popular, much-repeated tales<sup>1</sup> (*solent . . . . narrari . . . . ut dicunt . . . .*), which the author took down from oral narration (*in cedula notauimus . . . . audiui*), that they were of a marvelous or at least apparently fictitious character (*que etiam relinquimus pro incertis et apocriphis*), and that the author intended to sift them and, as far as possible, verify them, with a view to embodying the results of his labor in a larger work (*ut si quando uera possint uel probari uel certe deprehendi maiori operi commendemus, . . . . que cum ueriora esse constiterit alias Deo largiente explicabo*).

Since both *J* and *V* were written by a monk of St. Albans at the end of the twelfth century or the beginning of the thirteenth, the latter at once suggests itself as the "*maiori operi*;" and a comparison of the only two passages in *J* that are detailed in regard to Offa, with the text of *V*, shows a strong probability that *V* is this work.

1. The only event in Offa's career treated at length in *J* is the translation of St. Alban and foundation of the abbey, to which about fourteen lines (in Gale) are given. Since *V* relates substantially the same facts as *J*, usually with similar phrases, drawn out to greater length, and with some differences in arrangement,<sup>2</sup> it is more reasonable to suppose that in *V* the author is working over his own material jotted down roughly in *J*, than that the resemblances and differences in the two passages are due to independent use of the same source by two writers, or to the working up of one man's materials by another; in other words, when we find two passages of approximately the same date, one of which reads like an elaborated version of the other, and when the author of the one states that he hopes to treat the subject more fully,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Refert autem usque in hodiernum diem, omnium fere conprovincialium assercio* (*V*, 32, ll. 10, 11).

<sup>2</sup> Cf., for example, in *J*: "*accitoque Humberto Merciorum Archiepiscopo diuinam de martire transferendo pandit uoluntatem, ac Archiepiscopus assumptis secum Ceolwlfo et Vnwona Episcopis, magnaue multitudine clericorum diuersorum graduum, venit ad locum sanctum*"; and in *V*: "*accito Humberto Merciorum Archiepiscopo (cuius sedes apud Lichefeld ut predictum est nuper ab eodem rege fuerat constituta,) diuinam ei uoluntatem indicat de premissis. Tunc Archiepiscopus sepedictus, assumptis continuo secum Ceolwlfo Lindsiensis, et Vnwona Legrecestri Episcopis suis suffraganeis, cum innumera utriusque sexus, et diuerse etatis multitudine regi die sibi statuta, apud Uerolamium occurrerunt (sic).*"—GALE, III, 530, and *V*, 26, ll. 47-52.

the presumption is heavy in favor of a common authorship for the two.

2. More striking is the passage referring to Offa's tomb in the Ouse, not found elsewhere, except in works based upon *CM* or *V* itself.<sup>1</sup> The difference between the two descriptions is significant. *J* states that the king was buried *ut dicunt* in the Ouse near Bedford. *V* gives a more elaborate version of how *iuxta multorum opinionem* he died at *Offeleia* (Offley), and was buried at Bedford, adding:

Refert autem usque in hodiernum diem. omnium fere conprouincialium assercio quod capella prefata longo usu et uiolentia illius fluminis corrosa sit submersa atque eius rapacitate cum ipso regis sepulchro ad nichilum redacta, uel saltem, ut quamplurimi perhibent in medio fluminis alueo<sup>2</sup> . . . . precipitata.

It is obvious that neither text borrows here from the other, and that the phrase *certe deprehendi* describes the relationship between the two.

If these two passages suggest a common authorship for *J* and *V*, *J* contains other allusions to the author's intention of writing a larger work,<sup>3</sup> which is once described as follows:

Nos autem eandem Historiam Deo commendamus, et prout ipse donauerit exsequemur, tantam ymaginem future edicionis et materiam hic prepingentes.<sup>4</sup>

These words must mean that *J* is only a rough preliminary sketch or outline for a chronicle. This opinion is confirmed by the arrangement of the matter and the appearance of the MS. It is closely written, much abbreviated, with little or no space

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 3, above, and p. 7, below.

<sup>2</sup> *V*, 32, ll. 10-15.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. "*sed quia res se ingerit de gentis huius origine pauca prelibabo, pauca enim de ea prediximus, et multa si Deus annuat, dicturi sumus*" (GALE, III, 532); "*sed hec alias*" (*ibid.*, 539); "*que maiori opera conseruanda estimo*" (*ibid.*, 528).

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 539. As the passage shows the author's knowledge of three important chroniclers of the twelfth century and his critical attitude toward them, it may be worth while to quote it at length:

"Successitque ei Ethelstanus, filius eius maior natus . . . de quo Galfridus Monemutensis quamuis inuidulos (*sic*) genti et gestis regum Anglorum esset, scribit quod primus de gente Saxonum diadema portauerit; quod et possit esse uerum, tamen credendum est inuidum magis prioribus regibus derogasse, quam Ealstanum laudasse. Nam et subsequenter historiam Anglorum tradit, Wilhelmo Malmesberiensi et Henrico Hunteduniensi in corde et corde locutus (*sic*), et uerendum est de eo ne desperdat Dominus labia dolosa: verum quia uices interpretis se dicit exsequi utcumque excusari posset, si ad tempus Ealstani eius editor quem Britonem dicit perscripsisset. Nos autem," etc.

between words, with narrow margins and no division into years. Different kings and kingdoms are mentioned in the same paragraph, with small pretense at order. Long extracts from lives of saints are introduced without any connection whatever; for example, the life of St. Guthlac is written in blank spaces around parallel lists of the early kings, and, although the death of St. Kenelm is related at length in its proper place, another miracle is added in a space on the page dealing with Edmund Ironside.

The writing is much corrected, apparently both by the original scribe and by at least one other; and from fol. 27 to fol. 33b is on irregular scraps of parchment that look like trimmings of sheep-skin after the cutting out of perfect leaves.<sup>1</sup>

The character of the *Julius D VII* as a whole bears out the theory that it is a collection of notes or materials for a history. It consists of extracts from the works of Henry of Huntingdon, St. Bernard, and other writers, calendars, a map, stray drawings (much resembling in style those illustrating *V* in *Nero D I*), the chronicle which may be Wallingford's own, quotations (with variations) from the *Gesta Abbatum*, an obituary list, and various odds and ends.

Since *J* is clearly a preliminary sketch and definitely states the author's intention of writing a larger chronicle, and since *CM 1*, which arose at the same place and about the same time, shows many points of resemblance to *J*, the claim of this to be the work in question must be considered.

1. The fact that *J* shows the use of no authority unknown to *CM 1* might be due to their dependence upon the same library,<sup>2</sup> but the insertion in both chronicles of long accounts of the same saints, Guthlac, Kenelm, Neot, Edmund, and Dunstan, in neither case quoted from the other, but based on the same sources, and in *CM 1* more condensed, is significant. Since neither chronicle

<sup>1</sup> That the MS had become separated into two parts in Sir Robert Cotton's time is perhaps indicated by the fact that his autograph is on fol. 10a. But the collection was put together in the thirteenth century—by Wallingford most probably—as is indicated by a rubric on fol. 33b, not much later than the body of the MS, referring, for a continuation of the history, to fol. 64, which is in Oxened's (?) or Wallingford's (?) chronicle.

<sup>2</sup> During the period covered by *J* (449-1036), *CM 1* shows the use of only one or two unimportant additional works for English history, but of several important authors for continental history. This indicates perhaps that the chronicle had increased in scope beyond the original plan.

borrow from the other, a natural explanation of the coincidence seems to lie in the hypothesis that the writer, who had copied long extracts in a rough draft, had condensed these materials when he came to insert them in a work of larger scope.<sup>1</sup>

2. The characteristics which Luard<sup>2</sup> observes in *CM 1* (even after it has passed through the hands of Wendover and Paris) are found to a striking degree in *J*: (1) the same curious combination of apparent care and absurd blunders; (2) the same attempts to sift materials and combine authorities, resulting often in discrepancies and confusion; (3) the same mixture of history and legend. These qualities<sup>3</sup> seem to me to characterize peculiarly<sup>4</sup> the attempts of a historical writer to break fresh ground, and that *CM 1* initiated a new school of chronicle-writing is certain.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Several small points that seem to show a consultation of the same authorities in regard to matters in which *J* and *CM* agree against the common opinion might be urged. I give two examples. The assertion that Alfred's youth was given up to luxury and vice is implied in several chronicles, but nowhere stated so definitely as in *J*. *CM*, however, adds to the conventional stories of Alfred's youth the distinct allusion to "libidinis incendiis," which agrees perfectly with the account given in *J*. Cf. *CM*, I, 412 n. 3, and GALE, III, 535. Again, the account of how Kenneth of Scotland received Lothian as a fief from King Edgar is particularly full in *J* and *CM*, and agrees in substance, though not in words. A possible indication of the date of *J* is in its assertion that the agreement with the Scotch king had held until "today;" in *CM* the corresponding phrase is "until the time of Henry II." Was *J* then written before the capture of William the Lion in 1174? Cf. GALE, 544, 545, and *CM*, I, 467, 468.

<sup>2</sup> *CM*, I, xxxiii, xli-xlii.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. "ut in gestis Sancti Cuthberti legitur, sed fides historie communis habet nullum" (GALE, III, 540); "auctoritati factum relinquimus qua probatur" (*ibid.*); "Caue autem hic de historia Normannorum, que falso quidem suggerit" (*ibid.*); "sed multi alii historici ob auctoritatem Ealstani ad eum referunt, que ad eum constat non pertinere," (*ibid.*); "uerendum est de eo ne disperdat Dominus labia dolosa" (*ibid.*, 539); "ideo horum numeri annotationem, ut aliquantulum ceteris certiore, sequar. Nam aliorum prope usque ad Alfredum filium quartum Ethelwoldi numeri annotationem inueni fluctuantem et incertum, sed et ante hec multa in numeri annotatione relinquimus incerta" (*ibid.*, 529); "quod si cui hec non placet genealogie deductio, querat aliam, non enim ut autenticam eam proponimus, sed si alterutrum cogeret, potius inter apocrypha numerarem" (*ibid.*, 535); "alii uero aliter et forte melius huius gentis originem texunt" (*ibid.*, 532). Cf. also the quotations concerning Offa (p. 3, above). His blunders are too numerous to quote. The statement that Charlemagne conquered England (*ibid.*, 529), in addition to the mistakes about Offa and Alfred mentioned above (p. 7, n. 1), may suffice. The large admixture of legend is shown in the long extracts from the lives of saints. The author's bewilderment in his mass of material is indicated in "Nam rerum pelagus quis sequetur?" (*ibid.*, 532).

<sup>4</sup> Other points in Luard's characterization of the compiler of *CM 1*, a tendency to rhetorical embellishment and to quotation from the classical poets, true of *V*, and to the use of the first person, true of both *J* and *V*, have been passed over, as not sufficiently distinctive. The tendency to repeat favorite expressions, very prominent in both *J* and *V*, is perhaps more important.

<sup>5</sup> I do not find that these three qualities apply to any other twelfth-century chronicle-writer in England. Henry of Huntingdon perhaps comes nearest, but does not show the same wide reading, particularly in hagiology. "Matthew of Westminster," indeed, in the thirteenth century shows many of the same peculiarities, but the first part of his work is based largely on Paris, and therefore on *CM 1* (cf. LUARD, *Flores Historiarum*, Rolls Series, 1890, I, xxxiv, xxxv).



3. The very discrepancies<sup>1</sup> among the many resemblances between the two works, when taken in connection with the character of *J*, are an additional argument for their common authorship. The original MS of *CM 1* is not known. The text, as we have it, has passed through two revisions, by Wendover and by Paris. There are resemblances enough in detail between *J* and *CM 1* to show a distinct relation between the two works; and while it is highly improbable that Paris or Wendover would have borrowed minute points from a chronicle so obviously imperfect as *J*, the general agreement of plan (*CM 1* is, of course, greatly extended) and resemblances in style and point of view are exactly what we should expect to find surviving, if *J* had been revised and rewritten, first by the original compiler, secondly by Wendover, and thirdly by Paris.

From the comparison, then, of *J*, *V*, and *CM*, it seems more reasonable to believe that *V* and *CM 1* represent the larger works foreshadowed in *J*, than that the author of *J* failed to carry out his purpose, while *V* and *CM 1*, agreeing in time and place with *J*, and showing the same mental and stylistic qualities, were compiled by different writers. It remains to consider the claims of Abbot John de Cella to be the author of the three works.

In favor of his authorship may be mentioned the following facts:

1. As Luard notes,<sup>2</sup> he was eminently fitted for such a task. He had been a student many years at Paris,<sup>3</sup> and was described by Matthew Paris as an Ovid in metrics, a Priscian in grammar, and a Galen in physic.<sup>4</sup>

2. He alone among the twenty-three abbots in the *Gesta* resigned the entire charge of the monastery in secular matters to

<sup>1</sup> In this connection it should be noted that *V* also is known to us only as it was copied under the direction of Paris, and may differ considerably from the original account. The rubrics certainly point to variations in the materials known to the rubricator. See pp. 35, 43, below.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. LUARD, *CM*, II, x, xi.

<sup>3</sup> Although the word *Cella* enters into various place names, the phrase *de Cella* may be the equivalent of *Cellensis*. Hence, Abbot John may have studied also at the famous monastery of Mottier-la-Celle in Champagne, of which Petrus *Cellensis* was abbot, who numbered among his pupils John of Salisbury.

<sup>4</sup> RILEY, *Gest. Abb.*, I, 217. In a supposed quotation from the *Gesta Abbatum* in Cott. Jul. D VII the expression is expanded, however, to "litteratissimus in gramatica, Dialectica, Teologia, et eminens in phisica" (fol. 120b); hence, like Saxo, "Magister" John de Cella was "Grammaticus."

subordinates, "more scholarium, rei familiaris ignarus, studium, contemplationem, et orationum continuationem amplectens."<sup>1</sup> He thus had nineteen years of comparative leisure, even after he became abbot, in which to exercise his scholarly attainments.

3. The circumstances of the abbey in his time were such as would naturally suggest to a scholar the production of such a work as *V*. He himself by mismanagement had incurred a heavy debt in attempting to rebuild the west front of the church, and endeavored in every possible way to raise money to complete the undertaking.<sup>2</sup> What was more natural than that, while he was calling people's attention to the needs of the abbey, he should write out, or cause to be written, to rouse their interest, the wonderful stories that attended its foundation? That the chief purpose of *V* was to show the antiquity and importance of St. Albans cannot be doubted (see p. 12, below).<sup>3</sup>

4. Luard<sup>4</sup> notes that at the end of the year 1188, in MS Douce ccvii of Wendover (written late in the thirteenth century), occurs the rubric apparently contemporary: "Huc usque in libro Croni-corum Johannis abbatis;" and opposite this, in a later hand: "Usque hoc cronica Johannis Abbatis, et hic finis." A similar rubric, "Huc usque scripsit Cronica dñs Rogerus de Wendoure," occurs at the end of the year 1235; and there seems no reason for doubting that in the first case as in the second the note is an attribution of authorship. It is noteworthy, too, that the corresponding MS of Paris, in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, No. xxvi,<sup>5</sup> ends at 1188—a fact that in this connection may mean that his original stopped at that point.

5. In the margin of *J* (fol. 14b) is written the famous Kenelm couplet, otherwise first quoted in *CM*.<sup>6</sup> This is in a different,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Gest. Abb.*, I, 217, 218.

<sup>2</sup> The text reads: "fecitque prædicari per totam terram Sancti Albani et per plurimum Episcoporum Diöceses, transmissis reliquiis, et quodam clerico, nomine Amphibalo (quem Dominus quatrduanum, meritis Sanctorum Albani et Amphibali, a mortuis suscitaverat, ut miraculis Sanctorum ipsorum testimonium fide perhiberet oculata), non minimam pecuniam coacervavit."—*Gest. Abb.*, I, 219.

<sup>3</sup> It cost Abbot John a thousand marks to buy off the claim of King John to a certain jurisdiction over the abbey. This may have influenced the production of a work which insisted so strongly on ancient privileges and immunities. Cf. *Gest. Abb.*, I, 235, 236, 241-43, and *V*, 29, ll. 38-49; 31, ll. 33-52.

<sup>4</sup> *CM*, II, ix-xi; VII, x.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. MADDEN, *Hist. Anglor.*, I, lxxi, lxxii; also liv.

<sup>6</sup> *CM*, VII, x; I, p. 373.

though contemporary, hand, and is headed by the rubric: "*Ver-sus Abbatis Johannis de Sancto Albano de Sancto Kenelmo martire.*" In connection with the facts that several couplets by Abbot John are quoted in the *Gesta Abbatum*,<sup>1</sup> that he seems to have been especially interested in St. Kenelm,<sup>2</sup> and that the Kenelm couplet in *CM* is introduced by the modest "*quidam ait*,"<sup>3</sup> instead of a poet's name or a laudatory phrase, the probability that Abbot John wrote both couplet and *CM* is increased.

6. John de Cella was born at Stodham (Studham) in Bedfordshire, "*ex mediocri prosapia.*"<sup>4</sup> Who was more likely than a Bedfordshire man of humble origin to know a legend of the Ouse? The phrase "*omnium fere conprovincialium assercio*" (*V*, 32, l. 11) may include the author among the natives of Bedfordshire; it at least implies a wide acquaintance among them.<sup>5</sup>

The only objection<sup>6</sup>—and this Luard does not consider decisive<sup>7</sup>—to his authorship is the silence of Paris on that point. This can be met by the counter-objection that Paris, who was undoubtedly proud of his own achievement and jealous of his own fame,<sup>8</sup> was not likely to bring forward the name of the man on whose work his own was founded. A parallel case seems to be his treatment of "Adam the Cellarer," whose "roll" he is said, in a rubric

<sup>1</sup> *Gest. Abb.*, I, 244, 247.

<sup>2</sup> He prophesied his own death on St. Kenelm's day. Both *J* and *CM* manifest particular interest in this saint (*Gest. Abb.*, I, 249).

<sup>3</sup> So Henry of Huntingdon introduces his own verses. Cf. *Hist. Anglor.*, Rolls Series, 1879, pp. 11, 243, 246, 249.

<sup>4</sup> *Gest. Abb.*, I, 217.

<sup>5</sup> An additional point in favor of his authorship mentioned by LUARD (*CM*, II, xi) is that *CM* inserts "*apud Walingeford*" into an account taken from Robert de Monte. But this might have been written by almost any monk of St. Albans, of which Wallingford was a cell, Abbot John certainly, as he had been prior there. The connection of both Abbot John de Cella and John de Wallingford, *infirmarius*, with the cell of Wallingford might help to account for the presence of *J* in MS Cott. Jul. D VII.

<sup>6</sup> A special objection to his authorship of *CM 1* is an allusion in the year 1179 to an event that happened in 1215 (the year after the abbot's death); but, as LUARD observes (cf. *CM*, II, 313, and VII, xi), this has all the look of an interpolation.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *CM*, II, xi, xii; VII, xi.

<sup>8</sup> Witness his introductions of his own name into the text (*Gest. Abb.*, I, 19), and the numerous rubrics in which it appears.

not written by himself in Nero D I, to have used in compiling the *Gesta Abbatum*. He, indeed, mentions Adam, but as *illiteratus*, and with no word of his roll. Nor does he make any mention of his indebtedness to Wendover.<sup>1</sup>

Various other reasons can be suggested to explain his silence. (1) In an ecclesiastical work, he may have considered his general laudation of John's Latin style sufficient. That this was the case is suggested by the fact that Abbot John's verse fares scarcely better than his prose, except that a few couplets are quoted. (2) In a time when there was small scruple against adopting the work of another without acknowledgment of indebtedness, it may not have occurred to him to mention Abbot John's name; or the abbot himself, a man famous for his humility, may have considered his work as belonging to the community—a common monastic attitude. (3) As Wendover is known to have begun his chronicle at St. Albans within a few years of Abbot John's death, it is very possible that he was appointed to revise and continue the work left unfinished; and that it is because *CM 1* was left unfinished and was so greatly worked over and extended by Wendover and Paris in turn, that we find many rubrics attaching the chronicle to their names and but one giving credit to the originator; in other words, by a natural process their greater fame would have obliterated his.

If the foregoing argument has shown that the most reasonable explanation of the relation between *J*, *V*, *CM 1*, and the known facts of Abbot John's life lies in the hypothesis that he was the author of these works, then we may proceed to the examination of the text *V*, in the belief that we are dealing with the work of a man of unusual education and ability, a man of humble origin, cosmopolitan by reason of a long stay on the continent, one who had read widely in historical works, but with small power of discrimination, and one who interested himself more or less in folk-lore; and finally, one who was deeply religious and interested in the welfare of his own abbey. These factors must certainly enter into the consideration of the materials that he used and his method of dealing with them.

<sup>1</sup> *Gest. Abb.*, I, xiv-xvi.

## II.

Of the two parts of *V*, the second, which is twice as long as the first, is obviously an attempt at a somewhat complete biography, while the first consists merely of two long stories, independent of each other in matter, different in style, and but slightly connected. These two parts are joined by a short paragraph of eighteen lines that relates each directly to the founding of St. Albans. The gist of it is: that as O1 had, through the habits of luxury and avarice that ruled him in his old age, failed to perform his vow to build the abbey,<sup>1</sup> the promise was handed down to each of his descendants until the time of Offa of Mercia,<sup>2</sup> who at last fulfilled it;<sup>3</sup> further, that, because of the neglect of O1 and his descendants, all the lands that he had conquered fell gradually away, so that they had to be won again by his descendant, O2.

From the fact that the two stories in *V1* have a very definite relation to *V2*, the first forming a parallel to similar achievements on the part of O2, the second a contrast greatly to O2's advantage, in that he fulfils the vow which his supposed ancestor made and failed to keep, it is clear that the history of O2 is the most important part of the narrative;<sup>4</sup> and also that the compiler's aim is to glorify him and through him the abbey.<sup>5</sup> His method of accomplishing this aim seems to be as follows:

1. He alleviates the sins with which on good historic evidence O2 is charged, in two ways: (1) by attributing these to his wife Cyneðryð, or his ancestor O1; (2) by representing them as atoned for.

2. He compares and contrasts him favorably with O1.

<sup>1</sup> "In eo multum redarguendus quod scenobium uotiuo affectu repromissum thesauris parcendo non construxit. Post uictorias enim a Domino sibi collatas, amplexibus et ignauiæ necnon auariciæ plus equo indulsit."—V, 10, ll. 5-7.

<sup>2</sup> *V*, 10, ll. 8-15, and 12, ll. 21-24.

<sup>3</sup> That the story of the broken vow gives a semblance of a far greater antiquity to the history of the abbey is true; but it is perhaps not possible to show that there was a recognition of this fact in the compiler's mind.

<sup>4</sup> In bulk it is two-thirds of the text.

<sup>5</sup> The biography begins with a description of his crippled state, his presentation in the temple, and an allusion to the broken vow of his ancestor; except for a short account of the disaster to his tomb, it ends with the founding of St. Albans. Nearly a third of its content is concerned with abbey matters.

It becomes necessary, then, to consider (1) how the compiler has dealt with his historic material in whitewashing his hero, and (2) to study in detail the parallel and contrast which he introduces into his work.

The two sins with which O2 is charged are avarice and bloodshed. Alcuin, his friend and contemporary, practically accuses him of both in a letter of admonition to his successor Coenulf.<sup>1</sup> In *V*2 there is no word of O2's avarice. On the contrary, his generosity is insisted upon.<sup>2</sup> But O2's queen is described as *mulier auara*;<sup>3</sup> and O1, although he as well as O2 gave up to his men all the spoils of his victory,<sup>4</sup> by a slight inconsistency or a change of character, is represented as failing to build the monastery *thesauris parcendo*.<sup>5</sup>

The charge of shedding blood in wars of conquest is also emphasized by Alcuin<sup>6</sup> in writing of the death of Offa's son Ecgferp:

Non enim ill. nobilissimus iuuenis ex suis peccatis, ut reor, mortuus est; sed etiam paterni sanguinis ultio in filium usque redundavit. Nam, sicut scis optime, quam multum sanguinis effudit pater eius, ut filio regnum confirmaret. Sed hoc confirmatio non fuit regni sed destructio. The compiler, admitting this charge, "de peccatis omnibus precipue tamen de preliorum multorum commissione,"<sup>7</sup> represents his hero as making atonement, not only by the foundation of St. Albans, but also by a penitential pilgrimage to Rome.

As will appear later, in *V* alone is O2 said to have been ignorant of St. Ethelbert's murder, the blame being laid entirely upon his queen.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Si quid vero avare vel crudeliter gessit, hoc omnino tibi cavere necessarium esse agnosce."—JAFFÉ, *Monumenta Alcuini* (*Bibliotheca Rerum Germanicarum*, t. 6, Berlin, 1873), 353.

<sup>2</sup> William of Malmesbury's charge that Offa had robbed his monastery is perhaps meant to be counterbalanced in *V* by the list of his generous donations to St. Albans (*De Gestis Regum Anglorum*, Rolls Series, 1887, I, 86). No doubt to this end is told the story of his magnificence or reckless extravagance in Flanders, by virtue of which he bought up land at the natives' own price to secure fodder for his horses (*V*, 28, ll. 43-57 and 29, ll. 1-3).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *V*, 23, ll. 26, 27.

<sup>4</sup> "Ne quomodolibet auaricie turpiter redargueretur."—*V*, 4, ll. 11, 12.      <sup>5</sup> *V*, 10, ll. 5, 6.

<sup>6</sup> JAFFÉ, 350; cf. also: "Non enim sine causa nobilissimus filius illius tam parvo tempore vixit super patrem. Saepe merita patris vindicantur in filios."—*Ibid.*, 353.

<sup>7</sup> *V*, 29, ll. 52-54.

<sup>8</sup> Even his delay in fulfilling the promise made in his name is apologized for: "... de uoto . . . cuius execucionem Regina Quendreda iam defuncta, nequiter retardando impe-

Further, whole sections are given to accounts of his piety, humility, humanity, and generosity,<sup>1</sup> and stress is laid upon a quality not so much as hinted at in any other work, his *supereminentem sanctitatem*.<sup>2</sup>

Since it is clear that the compiler is disposed to take liberties with history for his own end, it is necessary to examine in detail the parallel which he has drawn between the two kings, with a view to determining whether (1) he has deliberately combined sagas of O1 with legends of O2; or (2) has falsified the history of O2 by incorporating into it matter relating solely to O1; or (3) has found the two figures completely confused, and in his endeavor to disentangle them has hit upon the parallel and contrast; in other words, whether the popular imagination in the twelfth century had already made a composite of the two Offas, *V* representing an attempt to restore each to its place; or distinct stories were told about one or both, while *V* represents an attempt to combine them for a special purpose.

### III.

The first step in the investigation is to examine the parallels, which consist of phrases as well as situations and events.<sup>3</sup>

#### *V1*

Warmund's fame and connection with Warwick (1, 1-6).

Qui usque ad annos seniles absque liberis extitit, preter unicum filium, quem, ut estimabat, regni sui heredem et successorem puerilis debilitatis incomodo laborantem constituere non ualebat. Licet enim idem unicus filius eius, Offa uel

#### *V2*

Natus est igitur memorato Tuinfred et qui de stemati regum fuit filius, videlicet Pineredus, usque ad annos adolescentie inutilis, poplitibus contractis, qui nec oculorum uel aurium plene officio naturali fungeretur. Unde patri suo Tuin-

diuerat."—*V*, 26, ll. 17, 18. Again O2 says in a prayer: "a coniugis mee laqueis miser. corditer ac potenter liberasti.—*V*, 26, l. 21. SHARON TURNER noted how the adventures of Cyndryð were introduced in order to lay the blame of the murder upon her (*Hist. of England*, London, 1839, I, 410).

<sup>1</sup> *V*, 19, ll. 19-52; 31, ll. 13-18.

<sup>2</sup> *V*, 21, l. 47.

<sup>3</sup> Since the account in *V1* is the fuller, it has been made the basis, and is printed nearly entire to the end of the battle, except the parts where the narratives diverge, which are summed up in English. When *V1* gives details of a parallel situation not found in *V2*, the text is continued across the page, being useful for future reference. The accounts in *V2* have been in some cases taken out of their proper context, in order to bring the parallels together.

## V1

Offanus nomine, statura fuisset procerus, corpore integer, et elegantissime forme iuuenis existeret, permansit tamen a natiuitate uisu priuatus usque ad annum septimum. Mutus autem et uerba humana non proferens usque ad annum etatis sue tricesimum. Huius debilitatis incomodum non solum rex sed etiam regni proceres supra quam dici potest moleste sustinuerunt (1, 6-16).

Riganus plots to be appointed heir, but, repulsed by Warmund, raises an army. Warmund refuses to fight and calls a council (1, 16-27 and 2, 1-8).

Dum igitur tractarent in commune per aliquot dies, secum deliberantes instantissime necessitatis articulum, affuit inter sermocinantes natus et unigenitus regis, eo usque elinguis et absque sermone, sed aure purgata singulorum uerba discernens. Cum autem patris senium et se ipsum ad regni negocia quasi inutilem et minus efficacem despici et reprobari ab omnibus perpendere, contritus est et humiliatus in semetipso, usque in lacrimarum ad uberem profusionem; et exitus aquarum deduxerunt oculi eius, et estuabat dolore cordis intrinsecus amarissimo. Et quia uerbis non poterat, Deo affectu intrinseco precordialiter suggerebat ingemiscens reponensque lacrimabilem quere-

## V2

*fredo et matri sue Marcelline oneri fuit non honori, confusioni et non exultacioni.* Et licet unicuique eis fuisset mallent prole caruisse quam talem habuisse (10, 23-27).

Tuinfred and Marcella renew the vow that O 1 had made to found an abbey, in the name of their son, if he should be healed. The tyrant Beormred, fearing the nobility of royal descent in his kingdom, endeavors to be rid of them; but Tuinfred and his family escape (10, 27-48).

Puerum autem Pinefredum spreuit nec ipsum querere ad perdendum dignabatur, reputans eum inutilem et uoletudinarium. Fugientes igitur memoratus Tuinfredus et uxor eius et familia a facie persequentis, sese in locis tucioribus receperunt ne generali calumpnie inuoluerentur. Quod comperiens Pinefredus adolescens quasi a graui sompno expergefactus, erexit se; et compagibus neruorum laxatis et miraculose protensis, sese de longa desidia redarguens, fecit alices, brachia crura pedes extendendo (10, 48-54).



## V1

lam coram ipso orabat ut a Spiritu *sancto* reciperet consolacionem a patre luminum fortitudinem *et* a filio patris unigenito sapientie salutaris donatium, in breui igitur *contriti* cordis uota prospiciens, is cui nuda *et* aperta sunt omnia, resoluit os adolescentis in uerba discreta *et* manifeste articulata. Sicque de regni principatu tumide *et* minaciter contra se *et* patrem suum perstrepenes subito *et* ex insperato alloquitur (2, 8-21).

O makes a long speech claiming the throne. Warmund girds him with a sword, and he distinguishes himself in manly exercises. Preparations are made on both sides for the battle (2, 21-57 and 3, 1-5).

ore facundo

sermone rethorico  
uultu sereno (2, 29).

## V2

O excels all others in courage and is called by the Mercians the second Offa, instead of Pinefred; and, because like O 1 he is favored of God, is chosen to lead them against Beormred, who now repents having spared him (10, 57 and 11, 1-9).

Et aliquociens oscitans, cum loqui conaretur, solutum est uinculum lingue eius, *et* loquebatur recte uerba proferens ore facundo *promptius* articulata. Quid plura? De contracto, muto *et* ceco fit elegans corpore, eloquens *sermone*, acie *perspicax oculorum* (10, 54-57).

## V1

Congregato itaque utrobique copiosissimo *et* formidabili nimis exercitu, parati ad congressum (3, 6, 7).

## V2

Congregato igitur utrobique exercitu copiosissimo, pugnam *cruentissimam* inierunt: hinc rex Beormredus cum suis *complicibus*, inde Offa adolescens strenuissimis cum suis Merciiis sibi indissolubiliter adherentibus (11, 11-13),

## V2

Conuocatis igitur uniuersis officium militare sibi debentibus, regem Cantuariensem uel Kentensem hostiliter aggreditur. Cui accurrunt alii reges memorati regi Offe rebelles in eorum adiutorium (15, 35-37).

## V1.

fixerunt tentoria e regione, nichilque intererat nisi fluuius torrens in medio, qui utrumque exercitum sequestrabat. Et aliquandiu hinc inde meticolosi et consternati rapidi fluminis alueum interpositum, qui uix erat homini uel equo transmeabilis, transire distulerunt. Tela tamen sola cum crebris comminacionibus et conuiciis transuolarunt. Tandem indignatus Offa et egre ferens probrose more dispendia, electis de exercitu suo robustioribus et bello magis strenuis, quos *eciam* credebat fideliores, subitus et improuisus flumen raptim pertransiens, facto impetu ueheementi et repentino, hostes ei obuiam occurrentes preoccupatos tamen circa ripam fluminis, plurimos de aduersariorum exercitu contriuit et in ore gladii trucidauit. Primosque omnes tribunos et primicerios potenter dissipauit. Cum tamen sui commilitones forte uolentes prescire in Offa preuio Martis fortunam, segniter amnem transmearent, qui latus suum tenebantur suffulcire et potius circumuallando roborare, (et) resumpto spiritu uiuidiore, reliquos omnes hinc inde ad modum nauis uelificantis et equora uelociter sulcantis, impetuosisime diuisit, ense terribiliter fulminante et hostium cruore sepius inebriato, donec sue omnes acies ad ipsum illese et indempnes transmearent. Quo cum peruenerent sui commilitones, congregati circa ipsum dominum suum exercitum magnum et fortem conflauerunt (3, 7-22).

Duces autem contrarii exercitus, sese densis agminibus et consertis aciebus uiolenter opponunt aduentantibus, et congressu inito cruentissimo acclamatum est utrobique et exhortatum (3, 23-25).

pugnam cruentissimam inierunt (11, —).

suos exhortabatur dicens (11, 17).

— oppositum exercitum potenter et audacter \* \* \* \* \* inuadit et dissipatis obstantibus uniueris bellum inchoat cruentissimum . . . (15, 37-39).

## V1

ut resagatur pro capite et certamen pro sua et uxorū suarū et lib-

## V2

O nobiles commilitones non alienigene sed indigene, non amore pecunie sed libertatis, uobis debite michi coniuncti, qui me *super* uos elegistis; et non ego ad hunc apicem me ingessi. Expergiscimini. Res ues-

## V2

O consortes, amici et commilitones mei, confusionis uel glorie mee consortes, quid hucusque pueriliter hostibus publicis allusistis? Numquid hic simultas latitat? Ubinam Merciorum probitas fre-

## V1

*erorum suorum et possessionum liberatione* (3, 25, 26).

## V2

*tra agitur. Quid pigritantes fatigamini? Sequimini me preuium. Ecce prelii negotium finem expectat adoptatum. Sol iam uergit in occasum. Nunquid in tenebris quas desiderant manus nostras euadent hostes nostri? Hucusque prosperatum est opus Martium feliciter ex parte nostra. Incepta uiriliter prosequimini* (11, 18–23),

## V2

*quenter experta? Sequimini me preuium et Kentensem proditorem in spiritu furoris nostri et impetu repentino adeamus uniuersi, et eius miseram animam nichil aliud pro meritis expectantem in Tartara detrudamus* (15, 44–49).

*ineant iustissimum, auxilio diuino protegente* (3, 26, 27).

*in causa sua iustissima protegente* (11, 42).

*Perstrepunt igitur tube cum lituis, clamor exhortantium, equorum hinnitus, morientium et uulneratorum gemitus, fragor lancearum, gladiatorum tinnitus, ictuum tumultus aera perturbare uidebantur* (3, 27–29).

*Sese igitur ad inuicem clamor exhortantium ascendit ad sidera, puluis aera perturbat, fragor hastarum tinnitus gladiatorum, gemitus uulneratorum, tubarum et lituorum clangor, ictuum strepitus repetitorum corda potuit exterruisse magnanimorum* (11, 26–29).

*Unde equorum et armorum et armatorum tubarum et lituorum strepitus horribilis aciesque sese glomeratim comprimantium ad nubes ascendere uidebatur. Et timor qui super constantissimos cadere poterat corda concutit intuentium* (15, 39–42).

*Aduersarii tandem Offe legiones deiciunt et in fugam dissipatas conuertunt. Quod cum videret Offa strenuissimus et ex hostium cede cruentus, hausto spiritu alacriori, in hostes more leonis et leone sublati catulis, irrui-*

*. . . . et ipso preuio et densam aciem hostium ad instar tellurem sulcantis hinc inde dissipat aduersarios et obstantes prosternendo* (11, 24, 25).

*. . . . nec eum acies interposite quin turmas densissimas dissiparet et uias latas aperiret retardare poterunt. Uibrata igitur*

V1	V2	V2
truculenter, gladium suum cruore hostili inebriando. Quod cum uiderent trucidandi, fugitui et meticulosi, pudore confusi reuersi sunt super hostes; et ut famam redimerent ferociores in obstantes fulminant et debacantur (3, 29-34).	Quem Merciorum prestanciores a tergo et uestigio subsequentes uiam aperiunt laciorem (11, 25, 26).	hasta cruentata (15, 51-53). . . . ecce acies Merciorum inuictissima ad instar torrentis saxa rotantis irrui in obstantes (16, 13, 14).
Multoque tempore truculenter nimis decertatum est et utrobique suspensa est uictoria; tandem post multorum ruinam, hostes fatigati pedem retulerunt ut respirarent et pausarent post conflictum (3, 35-37).	Decertantibusque utrimque uiriliter partibus ex aduerso ceciderunt quamplures exanimati. Multi quoque letaliter uulnerati lapsi sunt, qui cito postea miserabiliter expirarunt. Tandem suspensa diu uictoria (11, 13-15).	Congressum utrobique grauiter et suspensa est uictoria (15, 42, 43).

## V1

Similiter etiam et exercitus Offani. Quod tamen moleste nimis tulit Offanus cuius sanguis in ulcionem estuabat; et indefessus propugnator cessare erubescibat. Hic casu Offe obuiant duo filii diuitis illius qui regnum patris eius sibi attemptauit usurpare, nomen primogenito Brutus et iuniori Sueno. Hii probra et uerba turpia in Offam irreuerenter ingererunt, et iuueni pudorato in conspectu exercituum non minus sermonibus quam armis molesti extiterunt. Offa igitur magis laecessitus, et calore audacie scintillans, et iracundia usque ad fremitum succensus, in impetu spiritus sui in eosdem audacter irrui. Et eorum alterum, uidelicet Brutum, unico gladii ictu percussit, amputatoque galee cono craneum usque ad cerebri medullam perforauit, et in morte singultantem sub equinis pedibus<sup>1</sup> potenter precipitauit. Alterum uero, qui hoc uiso fugam iniit, repentinus insequens uulnere letali sauciatus contempsit et prostratum. Post hec deseuiens in ceteros contrarii exercitus duces, gladius Offe quicquid obuiam habuit prosternendo deuorauit, exercitu ipsius tali exemplo recencius in hostes insurgente et iam gloriosius triumphante. Pater uero predictorum iuuenum, perterritus et dolore intrinseco saucia-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. "animas cum sanguine sub equinis pedibus miserabiliter eructantes" (V, 11, 30, 31); also, "extremum spiritum sub equinis pedibus exalauit" (V, 16, 1, 2).

tus, subterfugiens amnem oppositum nitebatur pertransire; *sed* interfectorum sanguine torrens fluuius, eum loricatum *et* armorum pondere grauatum *et* multipliciter fatigatum, cum multis de suo exercitu simili incomodo prepeditis, ad ima submersit; *et* sine uulneribus miseras animas exalarunt proditores toti posteritati sue probra relinquentes. Amnis autem a Rigano ibi submerso sorciebatur uocabulum *et* Riganburne ut facti uiuat perpetuo memoria nuncupatur.

Reliqui autem omnes de exercitu Rigani, qui sub ducatu Mitunni regebantur, in abissum desperacionis demersi, *et* timore effeminati, cum eorum duce in quo magis Riganus confidebat, in noctis crepusculo trucidati cum uictoria gloriosa campum Offe strenuissimo in nulla parte corporis sui deformiter mutilato nec *eciam* uel letaliter uel periculose uulnerato, licet ea die multis se letiferis opposuisset periculis, reliquerunt. Sicque Offe circa iuuentutis sue primicias a Domino data est uictoria in bello nimis ancipiti ac cruentissimo *et* inter alienigenas, uirtutis *et* industrie sue nomen celebre ipsius uentilatum, *et* odor longe lateque bonitatis ac ciuilitatis, nec non *et* strenuitatis eius circumfusus, nomen eius ad sidera subleuauit. Porro in crastinum post uictoriam, hostium spolia interfectorum *et* fugitiuorum magnifice contempnens, nec sibi uolens aliquatenus usurpare ne quomodolibet auaricie turpiter redargueretur, militibus suis stipendiariis *et* naturalibus suis hominibus, precipue hiis quos nouerat indigere, liberaliter dereliquit. Solos tamen magnates quos ipsemet in prelio ceperat, sibi retinuit incarcerationis, redimendos, uel iudicialiter puniendos. Iussitque ut interfectorum duces *et* principes quorum fama titulos magnificauit, *et* precipue eorum qui in prelio magnifice ac fideliter se habuerant, licet ei aduersarentur, seorsum honorifice intumulerentur, factis eis obsequiis cum lamentacionibus. Exercitus autem popularis cadauera in arduo *et* eminenti loco ad posteritatis memoriam tradi iussit sepulture ignobiliori. Vnde locus ille hoc nomine Anglico Qualmhul, a strage uidelicet, *et* sepultura interfectorum merito meruit intitulari. Multorum *eciam* *et* magnorum lapidum super eos struem exercitus Offe uoce preconia iussus congessit eminentem. Totaque circumiacens planes (*sic*) ab ipso cruentissimo certamine *et* notabili sepultura nomen *et* titulum indelebilem est sortita; *et* Blodiweld a sanguine interfectorum denominabatur (3, 38-57, and 4, 1-24).

## V1

Pater uero Warmundus qui sese receperat in locis tucioribus rei euentum expectans *sed* iam fausto nuncio certificatus comperiensque *et* securus de carissimi filii sui uictoria cum ingenti leticia ei procedit obuius. Et in amplexus eius diu-

## V2

Patri igitur aduentanti occurrit Offa triumphator magnificus *et* in mutuos

## V1

tissime commoratus conceptum interius de filii sui palma gaudium tegere non uolens set nec ualens huius cum lacrimis exultacionis prorupit in vocem. Euge fili dulcissime" . . . . (4, 26-30).

Quamobrem in presenti accipe quod tuis meritis exigentibus debetur eciam si filius meus non esses et si mihi iure hereditario non succederes (4, 48, 49).

. . . . Vt a curis et secularibus sollicitudinibus quibus discerpor liberatus precibus uacem et contemplacioni (4, 53, 54).

. . . . fame tue magnitudo per orbem uniuersum dilatabitur et felix suscipiet incrementum (5, 23, 24).

. . . . filius deuotus et mansuetus  
. . . . grates rettulit accumulatas  
(5, 26-28).

This comparison shows the following results:

1. The miracle in V2 is enhanced by an exaggeration of the previous physical defects; but the time of its operation is left vague. Apparently it occurs some years after the renewal of the vow, and not immediately as in V1.

2. The first situation is distinctly different in each case: in V1 the rightful heir claims and wins his throne, overcoming a would-be usurper; in V2 a boy of royal birth, but not heir to the throne, is elected because of his achievement in driving out the tyrant who oppressed the country.

3. The single combat of O1 with two enemies is not paralleled in V2; although O2 fights alone with the tyrant of Kent, the circumstances and language are different.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Only one phrase, and that not noteworthy, is common to the two passages: *sub equinis pedibus*.

## V2

ruentes sese piis lacrimis et letis fletibus irroarunt. Et singultibus sermonem prorumpentibus ait pater filio: O fili, unice fili, fili genealis . . . .

accipe hereditatem tuam comitatum meum.

Quia et si filius meus non esses hec et plura pro meritorum retributione promeruisti . . . .

. . . . Ego iam delibor . . . .

precibus et contemplacioni cum uxore mea de cetero quiescis incumbam (11, 51-56, and 12, 1-3).

Absit hoc pater mi uenerande ut dum uitales auras hauseris status uestre dignitatis in aliquo me uiuente mutiletur immo potius felix suscipiet incrementum (12, 6-8).

4. The scale of the narrative in *V1* is much larger than in *V2*, as five pages to two:

In *V1* 65 lines give the initial situation, O1's first speech and the miracle; 24, the preparations for the battle; 74, the battle itself; 61, the meeting of father and son, and Warmund's speech; and 31, Warmund's death and a summary of the situation before O1's marriage—255 in all.

In *V2* 40 lines give the situation including the presentation in the temple, the miracle, and the likeness to O1; 32, the battle; and 33, the speeches of Tuinfred and O2, and O2's election to the throne—105 in all.

5. The verbal resemblances are confined chiefly to the battle accounts:<sup>1</sup> about 11 lines (out of 32) of the battle with Beormred, and 7 (out of 24) of the battle at Otford, showing close resemblances to the battle in *V1*.

6. A phrase is rarely repeated with exactness, more often with slight changes such as (a) construction: *ut res agatur*=*res vestra agitur*; (b) order: *uulneratorum gemitus*=*gemitus uulneratorum*; (c) use of synonyms: *fragor lancearum*=*fragor hastarum*; (d) context: see pp. 17, 18; (e) combination of these various differences: *miseras animas exalarunt*=*animas cum sanguine . . . miserabiliter eructantes*=*miseram animam eructans*=*extremum spiritum . . . exalauit*.

7. In *V1* the battle is definitely localized and told with distinctive details; in *V2* the battle against Beormred is not localized and shows no peculiar features; Feldhard is quite general; Otford shows only the definite feature mentioned before, the death of the tyrant of Kent; and Bensington is scarcely unlike the others, although it is a siege.

The first point to be determined is the historic evidence for this account of the early life of O2.

1. Of his deformity and subsequent cure there is elsewhere no trace; and it should be noted that it is this very fact, with its biblical presentation in the temple, that is especially connected with the foundation of St. Albans, hence historically untrustworthy.

<sup>1</sup>The narratives of Feldhard and Bensington have only a phrase or two in common with *V1*.

That the account in *V1* is the original of that in *V2* is then probable because of the exaggeration of *V2* and its connection with St. Ālbans, and because O2's resemblance to his ancestor in this respect is insisted upon.<sup>1</sup> The introduction of the miraculous element will be discussed more particularly in connection with the compiler's use of his material.

2. Of the battle with Beormred there is some historic evidence. The *Saxon Chronicle* says: "Beornræd feng to rice & lytle hwile heold & ungefealice,"<sup>2</sup> while the Northumbrian *Continuation of Bede*<sup>3</sup> implies a battle in the statement that Offa: "fugato Beornredo, Merciorum regnum sanguinolento quæsiuit gladio."<sup>4</sup>

3. Since the battle of Feldhard is not mentioned elsewhere, and in *V2* no definite details are given, while the assertion that by it O2 conquered the East Anglians does not agree with the later statement that he annexed East Anglia only after the murder of St. Ethelbert, and since the battle against Beormred, which is confirmed by other authority, is nowhere localized, and Feldhard is an English name, it is possible that it may in reality belong to the victory over Beormred. The battles of Otford and Bensington are barely mentioned in the *Saxon Chronicle* (*an.* 773, 777); but Henry of Huntingdon adds "clade autem horrenda utrinque peracta" to his mention of the former. It is possible that a few details of this battle may have lingered in the popular memory, or, as Arnold thinks, they may have been preserved in a St. Albans Chronicle since lost;<sup>5</sup> but there is no trace of a trustworthy historic account of any of these battles.

4. The additional details in *V2*, in regard to Beormred's oppression, the exile of O2's parents, his own election to the throne, are probable enough, but unsupported by evidence.

<sup>1</sup> "Rex igitur Offa secundus, primo similimus, in omnibus agendis, primo studuit conformati" (13, 24, 25); "Ueruntamen memorie reducentes euentum Offe magni, qui in tenera etate penitus erat inutilis, et postea, Deo propicio penitus sibi restitutus, mirabili strenuitate omnes suos edomuit aduersarios" (10, 27-30); . . . "Unde ipsi Mercii, secundum Offam, et non Pinefredum, iam nominantes quia a Deo respectus et electus fuisset, eodem modo quo et Rex Offa filius regis Warmundi ceperunt ipsi quasi Domino uniuersaliter adherere" (II, II, 2-4).

<sup>2</sup> *An.* 755 (= 757).

<sup>3</sup> *An.* 757 (STEVENS, *Ven. Bedae Op.*, London, 1841, II, 258).

<sup>4</sup> Simeon of Durham (*an.* 769) states that one "Earnred tyrannus," whom Hinde inclined to identify as the Beornræd of the *Chronicle* (*Sym. Dun. Opera*, Surtees Soc., 1868, p. 123 n.), was killed at the burning of Catterick. In *CM*, *an.* 769, he is called Beornred.

<sup>5</sup> *Hist. Anglor.*, p. 126 n. a.



Tuinfred's announced purpose of retiring into the monastery of St. Albans when it should be founded is more suspicious.

Since there is no historic basis for the account of O2's youth, and almost no details are known of his early wars, and since in *V1* the narrative contains details at once peculiar to itself and characteristic of Old English literature, while in *V2* the description shows a strong likeness in language to *V1* without definite details, we may conclude, I think, that the compiler used in the case of *V1* an episode which he believed to be so clearly attached to O1 that he could not suppose it to belong to O2; hence, knowing several points of likeness between the two careers, he hit upon the expedient of the parallel. That this is the result of deliberate intention is clear from the fact that these close resemblances<sup>1</sup> do not occur in other parts where the situations are similar;<sup>2</sup> but whether the compiler has drawn upon his own text of *V1* in the case of *V2*, or has returned to his original, I find it impossible to decide. That the slight changes might be due in part to carelessness, in part to some difference in context, is evident; and the few apparent expansions in *V2* may as easily be due to rhetorical instinct as to a return to the original.

The possible source or sources for this part of *V1* are native tradition,<sup>3</sup> oral or written, and the Danish versions of Sven and Saxo. The compiler himself gives little satisfactory evidence on this point. He says in his opening sentence:

*Inter Occidentalium Anglorum reges illustrissimos precipua commendacionis laude celebratur Rex Warmundus ab hiis qui Historias Anglorum non solum relatu proferre set eciam scriptis inserere consueuerant.*<sup>4</sup>

These words, when taken in connection with the description, "patris sui magnifici Warmundi, cuius mores tractatus exigit speciales,"<sup>5</sup> seem to imply, however, that he knew somewhat

<sup>1</sup> The fact that the author shows a tendency occasionally to repeat a descriptive phrase in a different context—characteristic also of *J* and *CM*—does not affect this point.

<sup>2</sup> For example, not in the Welsh wars of O2.

<sup>3</sup> TRIVET's *Constance*, which, as will appear later, is closely akin to the second part of *V1*, claims as source unknown ancient Saxon chronicles (*Orig. and Anal.*, Chaucer Soc., p. 3, ll. 6, 7)—*lez Aunciene Cronikes de sessounz*. He also quotes an English sentence of a date not much earlier than his own, p. 19. ll. 7, 8.

<sup>4</sup> *V*, 1, ll. 1-4.

<sup>5</sup> *V*, 5, ll. 55, 56. In *Ynglinga-tal* (*Corp. Poet. Bor.*, I, 250, l. 161) is mentioned *Godrædr inn Geofgláti* (*magnificent*); *magnifici* here may represent an alliterating epithet.

extensive accounts of Warmund's deeds, some of them told orally, and therefore calling for "speciales tractatus," others written down in certain "Historias Anglorum."<sup>1</sup>

These statements, together with the undoubted early existence of English versions, and the claims in *J* that many oral traditions were known about Offa of Mercia, create a presumption in favor of the use of English materials, unless unmistakable signs of influence from the Danish accounts appear.

It is necessary then (1) to ascertain what elements in *V1* are found or suggested in the oldest English versions of the saga; (2) to compare *V1* with the accounts of Svenio and Saxo for possible traces of borrowing; (3) to study the text itself for marks of its origin.

The allusions in Old English literature consist of *Widsið*, 35-45, and *Beowulf*, 1931-62.

*Widsið* reads:

Offa wēold Ongle, Alewih Denum;  
se wæs pāra manna mōdgast ealra;  
no hwæpre he ofer Offan eorlscipe fremede,  
ac Offa geslōg ærest monna  
cniht wesende cynerica mæst;  
nænig efeneald him eorlscipe mārān  
on orette; āne sweorde  
merce gemærde wið Myrgingum  
bi Fifeldore, hēoldon forð sippān  
Engle and Swæfe, swā hit Offa geslōg.

The phrases *cniht wesende*, *geslōg . . . cynerica mæst*, *nænig efeneald*, *āne sweorde* seem to allude unmistakably to the winning of a great kingdom by a young hero in single combat;<sup>2</sup> and *Fifeldor* has been identified by Grimm with the Eider.<sup>3</sup> There

<sup>1</sup> Although Warmund is but a poor figure in *V*, the allusions to him imply that he was a great hero whose deeds were familiar. The description of his funeral rites, "lamentaciones mensurnas cum magnis eiulatus lacrimis et specialibus planctibus prout moris tunc erat principibus magnificis lugubriter pro tanto funere continuauit" (*V*, 5, ll. 48-50), suggests *Beowulf*, 3148-82; and implies some knowledge of ancient laments, though not necessarily in connection with Warmund.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. MÜLLENHOFF, *Zeitschr. f. deutsche Altert.*, XI, 284-88, and *Beowulf*, 74; ETTMÜLLER, *Altnord. Sagenschatz* (Leipzig, 1870), p. 133; MÖLLER, *Alteng. Volksepos* (Kiel, 1883), pp. 30, 31.

<sup>3</sup> *Deutsche Myth.* (ed. MEYER, Berlin, 1875), I, 198.

is here no trace of a wonderful awakening and nothing to show that the combat was of one against two.

*Beowulf*, 1931–62, treats chiefly of O1's wife, but ll. 1957–62, must be considered in connection with *Widsið*:

Forðām Offa wæs,  
geofum ond gūðum gār-cēne man,  
wide geweorðod; wisdōme hēold  
ēðel sinne. Ðonon Eomæw wōc  
hæledum tō helpe, Hem[m]inges mæg,  
nefa Gārmundes, niða cræftig.

In l. 1960, although the reading *Eomæw* seems, for the sake of the alliteration, to have been finally adopted instead of the MS *gēomor*, there is still something to be said in favor of the latter.

1. The first half-line has the minimum number of syllables, and it is possible that the alliterative word may have been accidentally omitted. A clear case of this is l. 586: “fāgum sweordum (nō ic pæs [fela] gylpe).”<sup>1</sup>

2. In the MS (fol. 176a, Zupitza, 173<sup>r</sup>) there is a space for five letters between *hēold* and *ēðel*. Zupitza says merely that a blank is left “on account of the parchment being very thin.”<sup>2</sup> He does not add that the thinness is due to erasure on the *hēold-ēðel* side; but, although there are no traces of letters, it is clear that the parchment has been scraped or cut.<sup>3</sup> It is possible that a wart or lump has been removed; but the state of the parchment much resembles—except that it is a trifle smoother—that on fol. 132a (l. 20) *sceal . . . (.)uma*, where bits of the lost letters are still visible. On fol. 132a and again on fol. 154a, where letters are still visible, the instrument used for scraping has produced here and there the transparency which is so marked a feature of the gap on fol. 176a; but in l. 1960 there is no trace of writing. We

<sup>1</sup> Of other cases: in two (389, 390) two half-lines seem to be omitted; in four (62, 240, 1803, 2792) a single half-line; in seven (149, 1329, 1372, 2488, 3000, 3086, 3101) the line is also too short metrically; in four (586, 954, 1174, 2139) the lines are possible metrically, although 954 and 1174 need the alliterative word to complete the meaning.

<sup>2</sup> *Beowulf*, E. E. T. S., 1882, p. 90. Kemble (*Beowulf*, I, 136), inserts dots. Grein-Wülker observes merely, “gap or erasure.”

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Furnivall thinks that erasure is certain, but that it is not possible to decide conclusively whether it was the removal of a word or of a defect in the material. In favor of the latter may be urged the greater smoothness in l. 1960 (but it is not perfectly smooth); on the other hand, the size and shape of the bare mark are very similar to the space in l. 20.

may hold (1) that the scribe considered the place too thin to write upon (as Zupitza seems to imply); or (2) that he blundered, erased, and forgot to insert the correct word; or (3) that he wrote the passage correctly and afterwards erased the right word, thinking it to be a blunder.

Against (1) may be urged the fact that he did not hesitate to write on the reverse side of the parchment, the letters being plainly visible through it. It is far more likely that he would have written along continuously on 176*a*, and then, if he found the letters visible on *b*, have omitted to write over them, than that he should have skipped the weak place on *a* and then have written across it on *b*. It is barely possible that he forgot the erasure; but the parchment is obviously quite as frail on *b*. It is not necessary to decide between (2) and (3), as both imply that a word—and from its position, the alliterative word—is missing. But the size and shape of the thin place favor (2) and suggest especially that the word, if begun, ended in a blot. The space between *hēold* and *ēdel* is almost exactly the same as in l. 1110 (fol. 154*a*), where *gearu* (carried over from 1109) is scratched out, but still decipherable; hence, the missing word may have been *gearu* (*o*), *geare*, *gēara*; or perhaps better, when taken in connection with the *circa iuuentutis sue primicias* of *V* (see p. 20, above), and the *cniht wesende* of *Widsið*, *geong*.<sup>1</sup> The passage would then read: "held with wisdom in his youth, his kingdom whence he arose to the help of men," etc.

3. The word *gēomor* answers perfectly to Saxo's description of Uffo's youth:

Siquidem ab ineunte etate numquam lusus aut ioci consuetudinem prebuit, adeoque humane delectacionis uacuus fuit, ut labiorum continenciam iugi silencio premeret et seueritatem oris a ridendi prorsus officio temperaret.<sup>2</sup>

It also describes *V1*: "Cum autem patris senium et se ipsum . . .

<sup>1</sup> KEMBLE had the gap in mind when he suggested the reading *geard-ēdel* (*Beowulf*, II, Appendix, l. 3915); BACHLECHNER obviously not, when he emended to *ēdel-geard*; but neither word is given in BOSWORTH-TOLLER. I had thought of *geong* as suiting the context before I observed the gap in the MS, which it exactly fits. In l. 20 (fol. 132*a*) the gap is wider by exactly one letter, and the accepted emendation is [*geong g*]uma. But the shape of the thin place in l. 1960 shows that the word, if begun, was never written to the end.

<sup>2</sup> *Historia Danica* (ed. HOLDER, Strassburg, 1886), 106, 34-37 = MÜLLER-VELSCHOW, I, 162.

quasi inutilem *et* minus efficacem despici *et* reprobari ab omnibus perpenderet, contritus est *et* humiliatus in semetipso, usque in lacrimarum ad uberem profusionem . . . et estuabat dolore cordis intrinsecus amarissimo<sup>1</sup> (see p. 15, above).

4. The word *woc* may refer only to origin; but it suggests the phrase "quasi a graui sompno expergefactus, erexit se" in *V2* (see p. 15, above). It is not necessary, however, to insist upon this point.<sup>2</sup>

5. The phrase *hæleðum tō helpe* may be purely general, but, as great heroes usually arose in times of great need, it may, like the similar *folce tō frōfre* used of the first Beowulf, apply to a time of special emergency.<sup>3</sup> Cf. "instantissime necescitatis articulum" (p. 15, above).

6. *Hem[m]inges' mæg*, in connection with the reading *gēomor*, thus refers, as in l. 1944, consistently to Offa, to whom the other epithets used apply, while the conjectural *Ēomær* disappears.

7. The emendation *Ēomær* does not help to reconcile *nefa Gārmundes* with the Mercian genealogy (Wærmund, Offa, Angelpew, Eomær). The stress laid in *V* and in the Danish accounts upon the great difference in age between father and son, in connection with the word *nefa*, may mean that originally Offa was the king's grandson. However, it is not uncommon to find relationships varying in different versions of a saga.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> KEMBLE (*Beowulf*, II, 79) translates *gēomor* as "sad-hearted warrior," but in his introduction (I, xiv) he takes the word to allude to Olf's dulness as told in the Danish version. GRUNDTVIG translates "med Hjærte-Sorge;" Ettmüller, "der Strenge" (PFEIFFER, *Germ.*, I, 297, 298).

<sup>2</sup> *Onwacan* is given in BOSWORTH-TOLLER as the usual word meaning *to wake*, but *wacan* is sometimes used in that sense. If it be so taken, *ponon* does not fit so well. The temporal meaning *from the time that would make good sense*; but the nearest that I have found to it is *not until that time* (quoted in BOSWORTH-TOLLER).

<sup>3</sup> *B.*, 11-16.

<sup>4</sup> GREIN (*Bibl.*, Göttingen, 1857-64, I, 307) seemed to relate the name to *Hama*; BACH-LECHNER (*Pf. Germ.*, I, 455-60), to *Hamlac* = *Amleth*; and SUCHIER (*P. und B.*, *Beitr.* IV, 512) suggests the possibility of a relationship to the Norse guardian spirits *hamingjor*, through the valkyrie *Þryðo* (cf. ELTON, *Dan. Hist. of Saxo Gram.*, 162 n. 1; MEYER, *Germ. Myth.*, Berlin, 1891, 67-69). The name *Heming* is found in the *Lay of Helgi and Swava* (*Corp. Poet. Bor.*, Oxford, 1883, I, 148, l. 1); but there is nothing to connect him with Offa. He was foster-father to Helgi who like Offa was dull and silent in his youth and was loved by a valkyrie. There were at least two historic Hemings—Danes—in the early part of the ninth century (see LANG., I, 268, and PEETZ, *Mon. Germ. Script.*, Hannover, 1829, II, 604); but there is no evidence to show that they were ever connected with O2, and transferred to his ancestor.

<sup>5</sup> The hypothesis that in the Mercian list (*Chron.*, 626, 755) Angelpew has become misplaced and should stand between Offa and Wærmund, reconciles the *Chronicle* with *Beowulf*

8. The reading *gēomor* gives unity to ll. 1944–62, which thus become a tribute to Offa and his queen, introduced by way of contrast to ll. 1931–43. It is not without significance, perhaps, that the second hand in the MS begins in l. 1939. As this is the only case in *Beowulf* of two versions of the same story, it may be that the second scribe had heard the tale “with a difference,” and so felt bound to correct.

Judging from the date of *Widsið*, *Beowulf*, and their MSS, we may say that from the time of the coming of the Angles until the eleventh century the story of O1's combat was familiar in Old English poetry,<sup>1</sup> while the allusion to his *edwenden*<sup>2</sup> and two versions of his marriage became incorporated into the *Beowulf* some time between the eighth and tenth centuries.

The large number of obscure allusions in the *Beowulf* seems to show that the *Þryðo* story at least was treated in some detail; while the fact that two conflicting versions existed, alone is evidence that it was well known. The comparatively large space

on this point, but not with the Danish lists. These agree with the *Chronicle* as it stands, for Wiglek (Wihltæg), Wermund (Wærmund), and Uffo (Offa); and at that point diverge widely. Most of them follow Saxo in identifying Uffo (*Uffo Starke*) with the Icelandic *Ólafur Litilláti* (*hin Spaga, Olafus Mansuetus*), apparently in the belief that his name was changed with his change of character, and represent Dan (*Mikilláti, hin Stortatene*) as his son; but *Chron. Eric. Reg.* (LANG., I, 153) makes three generations of them. Torfæus, moreover, tells of some writers who, because of the confusion between Olaf and Danp and Dan, represent him as a woman, *Olufa Mansueta* (as applied to Olaf, the epithet means *good-for-nothing*, but here, as in *V1*, *gentle*), Danp's wife and Dan's mother. In the English list Offa's son is Angelpæow, whose name suggests the Swedish *Ongenpæow* (mentioned in *Beowulf*, l. 1968, only six lines beyond the end of the Offa passage); Icel, whom Thorpe believed to be Hygelac the Great, whose name corresponds to the Danish *Hugleikr*, brother or son of Dan; and the unknown *Ēomær*. The meaning of the agreement between the English and Danish lists for the three names, and the subsequent confusion, is probably that attempts were made to adopt Angle heroes into the Danish genealogy, after Schleswig had become absorbed in Denmark; but the names that follow in the Mercian lists, if also Angle, are unknown elsewhere. It is barely possible that Wærmund and Offa, as familiar heroes, may have been originally characterized by epithets as in the Danish lists (Wermund was *Varmundr Vitri, Vermundus Sapiens, Wermund Blinde, Wermundus Prudens*) and that in course of time these were mistaken for distinct names: *Angelpæow* might have arisen from *Angelpæoden* or *Angelpæod-cýning* under the influence of *Ongenpæow* familiar from *Beowulf*; and *Ēomær* from *gēomor*. The name *Eomer*, however, occurs in the *Chronicle* (LAUD, 628). Cf. HUITFELDT, *Danmarkis Rigis Krønneke*, I, 12–13; TORFÆUS, *Hist. Rer. Norveg.*, 1711, I, 413–15; LANG., I, 5, 19, 21, 27, 31, 32, 152, 153; and for a discussion of the genealogies, OLRIK, *Aarbøger f. Nord. Oldk. og Hist.*, 1892 (Copenhagen, 1892), II, Række, 7 Bind, 1–2 Hefte, 92, 114–17.

<sup>1</sup> Even if *Widsið* was not written until the seventh century, the allusion to O1's combat must have been old enough to be referred to the Eider district; in *V*, *Fífeldor* has been replaced by *Riganburne*, identified by the thirteenth-century rubricator as the Avon. Nero D I, fol. 4a.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *B.*, 2183–89.

given to O1's combat in *Widsið* (which barely mentions many heroes) is a reason for holding that this too was related at some length,<sup>1</sup> while the fact that *B.*, 1957-62 is of the nature of a summary, apparently introduced only to make an ending for the second version of the *Þryðo* story, itself introduced to correct the first version, and this again brought in only to illustrate Hygd's character by contrasting it with *Þryðo*'s, explains the slightness of the allusion in *gēomor*, and shows that this is no sufficient reason for holding that the awakening was not early included in the account of the battle. The vagueness of the reference and absence of explanation in the context are, on the contrary, reasons for supposing that this feature of the tale was familiar to audiences between the eighth and eleventh centuries.

If several important features of this saga are alluded to in MSS written at the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century, it is highly probable that the stories themselves would have been handed down in some form until the end of the twelfth century (and perhaps much longer, although I have not been able to trace them in any independent texts of later date than *V*); and therefore may have been included among the fictitious or "apocryphal" oral legends mentioned in *J*, which the author intended to verify before he related them of Offa of Mercia.

Now, while it is probable that the compiler of *V* might have derived the main facts of his narrative from English traditions, it is also true that the Danish account is detailed in regard to the awakening and battle; and that St. Albans had considerable intercourse with Denmark during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.<sup>2</sup> From these facts arise the questions of the relationship (1) of the Danish popular saga to the English; (2) of the liter-

<sup>1</sup>The phrase *geongum cempan* (*B.*, 1948) may allude to the combat. The word *campio* is used in *Sv* of Offa's chief adversary (*LANG.*, I, 45, relates this to the Danish *kæmpe*, Germ. *kämpfer*, OE. *cempa*), while the proper Latin equivalents *athleta*, *pugil* appear in *Sz*, and the *Hist.* . . . *de Omn. Goth.*, etc., of JOANNES MAGNUS, pp. 95, 98. It is possible that the phrase *in campestri bello* used in connection with O2 in *J* (see p. 3, above) may have arisen from an indistinct memory of the combat and of the fact that O2 killed St. Ethelbert. DU CANGE quotes *campestrati* from JOHN OF SALISBURY (*Polycrat.*, VIII, 12), as meaning *succinctoria habentes*; and DU FRESNE-HENSCHÉL under *Bellum Campale* gives the meaning *proelium publicum, folcgefecht*. But can *campestri* possibly be related to *campio*?

<sup>2</sup>*Gest. Abb.*, I, 12-19, 84-87.

ary versions of Saxo (*Sx*) and Svenno (*Sv*) to the English literary version *V*.

The first point, after a long course of argument, has been practically settled. Gramm in his notes on Meursius<sup>1</sup> was first to suggest that English priests in Canute's time had carried the saga from England to Denmark. This view was opposed by Langebek,<sup>2</sup> while Dahlmann<sup>3</sup> advanced the theory, upheld in the Müller-Velschow edition of *Sx*,<sup>4</sup> that, arising like the Amleth saga, from a Jutish source, the Offa saga spread thence over Denmark, was carried into England, and continued to develop independently in the two countries. Müllenhoff<sup>5</sup> went back to the theory of a double wandering, first to England, then back to Denmark; but his arguments were answered finally by Olrik,<sup>6</sup> who returned to Dahlmann's point of view.

From *Widsið* we get the original localization of the story in Schleswig, the result of the combat being the enlargement of the Angle boundaries on the south toward the Myrgings (a branch of the Suevi). Whether Alewih was Offa's antagonist<sup>7</sup> or merely his rival in great deeds, certainly in the time of *Widsið* the Danes and the Angles were still distinct peoples, while by the twelfth century Schleswig had long been identified with Denmark;<sup>8</sup> hence, the tales must almost certainly have been adopted with the people by Denmark and told of Danish heroes, as, on the other hand, they were carried to England, at first, referred to the continental Angles and later to the Angles in England.<sup>9</sup>

The question in regard to the literary version *V* is widely different. That Svenno and Saxo wrote their histories (*Sv* and *Sx*) independently of it is almost certain, since *Sv* surely, and this part of *Sx* in all probability, are earlier; but however strong English traditions of Offa may have been, it is reasonable to suppose that the author had heard from traveling Danes at St.

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, IX, cols. 35 F, 36 D, E, F, n. c.

<sup>2</sup> I, 45 n.

<sup>3</sup> *Forsch.*, I, 234, 235.

<sup>4</sup> II, 137-39.

<sup>5</sup> *Beowulf*, 80-84.

<sup>6</sup> *Ark. f. nord. Fil.*, Ny Følge, IV. Bind, 4. Hæfte, 373, 374.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. ETTMÜLLER, *Altnord. Sagensch.*, 133; MÜLLENHOFF, *B.*, 74; *Schles.-Holst. Sagen*, p. 5; and MÖLLER, *Alteng. Volksep.*, 26-30, n. 1.

<sup>8</sup> In 1208 Holstein was added by Waldemar II, who pushed his southern boundaries from the Eider to the Elbe.

<sup>9</sup> GRAMM, 9, 38 B; MÜLLER-VELSCHOW, II, 139.



Albans,<sup>1</sup> or perhaps at Paris,<sup>2</sup> something of the Danish traditions which were so similar to those in which he was interested. Therefore it is necessary to compare *Sv* and *Sx* with *V* for signs of influence from Danish sources.

The groundwork of the story in *V1*, which, as has been shown, is suggested in the Old English poems, *Widsið* and *Beowulf*, is also to be found in *Sv* and *Sx*; but the differences are numerous and important, as appears from the following comparison:

<i>Sv</i> and <i>Sx</i>	<i>V</i>
1. Place—the Eider district.	Place—Warwick- and Gloucestershire.
2. W very old and blind.	W very old; O blind until his seventh year.
3. U seems stupid and dumb ( <i>Sv</i> morally degenerate; <i>Sx</i> silent and sorrowful).	O considered a fool, is really dumb.
4. U has feigned dumbness because of shame at the killing of Aðisl; and rouses himself to meet an emergency.	O is cured by a miracle in answer to prayer, to meet an emergency.
5. U is married to Frowin's daughter.	Unmarried.
6. The danger is of invasion by a foreign enemy, who, because of the disabilities of W and U, aims at the throne.	The danger is of usurpation of the throne, for the same reason, by a nobleman of the country.
7. The enemy sends a challenge to single combat which shall decide the rule, as an easy means of attaining his end; U insists upon fight-	Nothing of this, except that O1 claims his right to the throne.

<sup>1</sup> "Duo viri literati," Danes who knew no English, at a visit to St. Albans, told in Latin a legend of King Canute, as is related in the *Gest. Abb.*, I, 88.

<sup>2</sup> Many Danes went to the University of Paris at the beginning of the thirteenth century (DENIFLE, *Die Universitäten des M. A. bis 1400*, Berlin, 1885, 92 n. 169a). *Sx* says that Andrew, archbishop of Lund (1202-28), had searched Gaul, Italy, and Britain to gather knowledge of letters. He, like Abbot John de Cella, was *magister* and may have had a post at the University of Paris (cf. ELTON, *Saxo*, pp. 2, 3 n. 1).

*Sv* and *Sx**V*

ing two, to balance the shame of his country in the combat of Wig and Keto (his brothers-in-law) fighting together against Aðisl.

8. U breaks all swords that he tries until W unearths Skrep, which he had buried long before in despair of its ever being used worthily.

9. The combat is on an island; the two armies are merely spectators. W is present and ready to kill himself if U is conquered.

10. U eggs on his enemies in turn, in order to dispose of the bravest first, and kills the champion.

12. A brief notice of U's succession to the throne, and a summary of his later deeds.

O1 is girded with a sword by W.

The armies are encamped on opposite sides on an almost impassable river. O1 crosses with a few picked men and defends the ford against great odds, while the bulk of the army follows. W has retired to a safe place.

During a pause in the battle, O1 is insulted by the two sons of the would-be usurper and kills them (the elder first); after which the battle is resumed until the enemy is annihilated.

Here follows much matter not found in *Sv* and *Sx*; the distribution of the spoils, the burial of the dead, names of the battlefield, W's long speech of rejoicing and abdication.

The death and burial of Warmund and Offa's early prosperity.

In summing up the relationship between the two versions, we find that *Sv* and *Sx* describe at length the feud between Frowin and Aðisl ending in the death of both, give details in regard to the challenge and the Skrep episode, and mention a marriage of which *V1* knows nothing; *V1*, on the other hand, is far more detailed in regard to the battle and its immediate consequences.

As to treatment of subject-matter, aside from the difference in localization, there are wide variations in the description of O1's affliction and its cure, and in the circumstances of the combat.<sup>1</sup>

Among all these differences it is difficult to see how there can be any question of influence from the Danish accounts upon *V*. Still, as a few points of likeness have been observed, it is necessary to ascertain, if possible, the meaning of these.

1. Suhm<sup>2</sup> found a certain resemblance between the first speech of U and O1; but a close comparison of the two shows that the substance is different, and the likeness is purely one of twelfth century rhetoric.

2. The unexplained recovery of sight at the age of seven (in *V*) has been compared with the assertion in *Chron. Erics Regis*:<sup>3</sup> "a septimo ætatis anno usque ad trigesimum noluit loqui;" but the only point of connection between the two is the indication of a crisis in the seventh year.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, as this point is not found in *Sv* or *Sx*, and *Chron. Erics* is much later than *V*, the statement in *V* may more easily have come from English popular tradition than from Danish.

3. More significant perhaps is the statement in *V2* that Tuinfred resigned his earldom because of growing blindness, "etenim senui et caligauerunt oculi mei,"<sup>5</sup> almost the same words being used to describe Wermund in *Sv*: "ut oculi ejus præ senio caligarent."<sup>6</sup> Notwithstanding the close resemblance in the phrasing I cannot think that this sentence is taken from *Sv*, (1) because the words are common enough to have suggested themselves independently to two writers; (2) if they had been borrowed, they must have been applied to Warmund.<sup>7</sup> That the com-

<sup>1</sup> As to the scale on which the three narratives are constructed: *V1* has about six thousand words in its first part, of which about three thousand (roughly speaking) are given to (a) the awakening and preparations for battle, (b) the battle, (c) W.'s speech and summary; *Sv* for the same events has less than one thousand altogether; and *Sx* has about three thousand, of which more than half is given to the Wig and Keto, and Folco stories, which do not appear in *V1* at all.

<sup>2</sup> SUHM-GRÄTER, I, 117; also LAPPENBERG, 223 n. 1 (ed. 1834), but cf. *Sv*, 46 and *V*, 2, 21-35.

<sup>3</sup> LANG., I, 152.

<sup>4</sup> Brought about by the killing of Aðisl by Wig and Keto? Uffo's dumbness suggests Helgi's when he mutely brooded upon revenge for his father's slaying until the valkyrie Swava showed him how to find the magic sword (*Corp. Poet. Bor.*, I, 145).

<sup>5</sup> *V*, 12, 2, 3.

<sup>6</sup> LANG., I, 45.

<sup>7</sup> So quasi a graui sompno *expergefactus* would have been referred to O1 if derived from *Sv* or *Sx*.

pilgr did not deliberately transfer the blindness to Offa merely to heighten the miracle is evident from the fact that he does not connect the recovery of sight with that of speech, or make use of it in any way. Therefore I think that *V* represents confused English traditions.

4. The double naming of several characters and some of the names themselves suggest possible Danish influence: (1) Riganus, is also called Aliel (in the rubrics only); Otta and Milio(ne), his sons, during the combat are unexpectedly named Brutus and Sueno, the former being given the cognomen Hildebrand, by the rubricator.<sup>1</sup>

*Riganus* is said to have been so named *a rigore* (*rigiditate et acerbitate mentis*);<sup>2</sup> and as *Offanus* was made from *Offa*, so *Riganus* may have been derived from *Rig* (or *Rigr*?) But there is no *Rig* in *Sx* or *Sv*, and the *Rig* or *Righ* of *Rigs-pula* is perhaps of western origin (see p. 44, below).

That Hildebrand should be connected with *Rig*<sup>3</sup> rather than with *Aliel* appears from the Norse *Hildebrand's Lay*,<sup>4</sup> in which he says that he is Drott's son, and Ari's *Ynglingasaga*,<sup>5</sup> in which Drott is the daughter of Danp, son of Rig.

On the other hand, *Aliel* (mentioned by the rubricator only) and *Otta* may possibly be due to Danish influence. Grundtvig and Bugge<sup>6</sup> have shown that the Norse *Aðils*, son of *Óttarr*, is the Old English *Eadgils*, son of *Ōththere*. In *V* the relationship is exactly reversed. *Otta* is the son of *Aliel*. But, if there is any relationship, these forms could have been corruptions of the Norse spellings much more easily than of the Old English. However, *Aliel* might as easily have been a misunderstanding of

<sup>1</sup> "Hildebrandus miles strenuus ab ense sic dictus" (Nero D I, fol. 2a, rubric attached to illustration); "Nomen primo Brutus, cognominato Hildebrandus" (fol. 2b, n. in margin).

<sup>2</sup> "Hic Riganus binomius fuit. Vocabatur enim alio nomine Aliel, Riganus uero a rigore" (*supra*, *loc. cit.*). Cf. also "*Riganum* in superbia rigentem" (*V*, 4, 40, 41).

<sup>3</sup> The name *Mitunnus* (*V*, 4, ll. 40, 41) suggests the *Mithotyn* of *Sx* (ed. HOLDER, 25, l. 35); but it is too doubtfully related to be an indication of Norse influence. However, it should be observed that *Mithotyn* also plays the part of an usurper and is killed for this (cf. MEYER, 219 ff.).

<sup>4</sup> *Corp. Poet. Bor.*, I, 190, l. 3.

<sup>5</sup> Chap. 20. Cf. *Corp. Poet. Bor.*, I, 234, 242.

<sup>6</sup> P. v. B., *Beitr.*, XII, 12, 13.

*Alewih*<sup>1</sup> as of *Adils*, and *Otta* of *Octa* as of *Öttarr*.<sup>2</sup> Saxo, it is true, mentions *Adisl*, but no sons of his; and it is not easy to see how *Otta* and *Milio* could have been confused in any way with *Wig* and *Keto*, the sons of *Frowin*, by whom *Adisl* was killed.<sup>3</sup>

I feel bound to conclude that there are no unmistakable signs of influence from *Sv* and *Sx*, and from the Danish saga as it developed in Denmark; that there was a certain amount of influence from the Danish sagas developing in England is both reasonable and will, I think, appear in the consideration of the content of the English saga.

Setting aside for the moment the introduction of the miraculous element,<sup>4</sup> with the prayer and speech attending it, which may be safely attributed to the compiler, we come to a closer examination of the text of the battle account for further traces of its sources.

1. The description is the longest that I have found in any chronicle of a Saxon battle, being more than three times as long as Henry of Huntingdon's translation of the *Battle of Brunanburh*.<sup>5</sup>

2. It contains several striking details which the compiler could have had no object in inventing, such as (a) the swollen, almost impassable state of the river,<sup>6</sup> which led to O's defense of the ford and to the drowning of Riganus and many of his army; (b) the burial of the dead beneath the cairns of stones;<sup>7</sup> (c) the names given to the battlefield.

3. The situation of the battle, while unwarranted by *Sv* and *Sx*, is yet purely Teutonic in its representation of the defense of

<sup>1</sup> The name persisted until the eighth century. Æthelbald's father was *Alweo* (*Sax. Chron.*, an. 716). Cf. HAIGH, *The A. S. Sagas* (London, 1861), p. 52.

<sup>2</sup> Octa and Eosa, sons of Hengest; according to *CM*, I, 231, 232, killed in battle against Uther at Verolamium. In *J* (GALE, III, p. 525), Octa = Otta.

<sup>3</sup> The combat of Wig and Keto against Abisl, told in *Sx*, may have been known in England; at least *Wig*, son of *Freawine* (= *Frowin*) appears in the genealogy of Cerdic in the Parker MS of the *Sax. Chron.* But it does not seem possible to connect Otta and Milio with this; both their names and their relationships to Aliel being so different.

<sup>4</sup> Several miracles happened during John de Cella's abbacy (cf. *Gest. Abb.*, I, 219, 230, 231).

<sup>5</sup> About 1,000 words; HUNTINGDON's *Brunanburh* contains about 300; there are 140 in the *CM* version of the battle of the Idle, an. 617, and 400 in Huntingdon's account of the battle of Burford, an. 752.

<sup>6</sup> We have even the detail "qui vix erat homini uel equo transmeabilis" (*V*, 3, 9).

<sup>7</sup> Cum lamentacionibus" (*V*, 4, 17) suggests "Swa begnornodon (*B.*, 3178), the "giomor gyd" (*B.*, 3150), and "gnornode geomrode giddum" (*B.*, 1117, 1118) of Old English verse, rather than the Christian burial service.

a narrow pass;<sup>1</sup> and is particularly suggestive of the *Battle of Maldon*,<sup>2</sup> the two armies at first being kept from each other by the swollen state of the river,<sup>3</sup> only hurling weapons and shouting threats and insults across.

4. Although the text contains rhetorical padding in the way of generalized descriptions, it shows possible marks of condensation as well: (a) the specific fact that O1 crossed the river so suddenly as to take the enemy by surprise, and on the bank crushed and slew many of them, is so definite in itself as to suggest that more details were originally known;<sup>4</sup> (b) the *conuicia* and *comminaciones* might easily have been given in detail, as are the speeches in the *Battle of Maldon*; (c) the exhortations of the leaders are referred to in two lines, purely general in character, of indirect discourse, although in *V2* at this point the author takes occasion to give a speech of six lines; (d) the *probra* and *uerba turpia* of the sons of Aliel may well have been originally given, as the taunting speeches of Uffo are recorded in *Sx* and *Sv*.

5. The names given to the battlefield, *Qualmweld* and *Blodiweld*,<sup>5</sup> are English, in their present form not earlier than the twelfth century; but this is to be expected if they were taken down from oral recitation.

6. The language itself seems to show one or two peculiarities, not sufficiently accounted for by mediæval rhetoric. Perhaps the best basis for a comparison is Henry of Huntingdon's literal translation of *Brunanburh*. A reading of this with its original reveals three salient features: (1) various blunders, often absurd,

<sup>1</sup> For other instances, see KER, *Epic and Romance* (London, 1897), pp. 5, 6.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. "Nichilque intererat nisi fluuius torrens in medio, qui utrumque exercitum sequestrabat" (3, 7, 8), and "Ne mihte þāēr for waetere werod tō þām ōðrum; þāēr cōm flōwende flōd aefter ebban" (*Maldon*, 64, 65). There is nothing in *V*, however, to show that the river was tidal. Two of the Avons are tidal; the third associated with Warwick, empties into the Severn.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. "tela tamen sola, cum crebris comminacionibus et conuiciis transuolarunt" and "būton hwā þurh flānes flyht fyl genāme" (*Maldon*, 71).

<sup>4</sup> In *Maldon*, where the situation is reversed, the enemy being allowed to cross and land by Byrhtnōð, who was too proud to take any advantage, the episode extends to twenty-seven lines (72-99).

<sup>5</sup> *V*, 4, 19 and 23. In the margin *Qualm-weld* is suggested by the rubricator, fol. 4a, as an alternative to *Qualm-hul*.

due to a misunderstanding of the words;<sup>1</sup> (2) a successful removal of much distinctively Old English coloring;<sup>2</sup> (3) the retention of a few phrases unmistakably Old English in idiom.<sup>3</sup>

Since *Brunanburh* was written after 937 and Henry's version was made before 1150, it is obvious that if *V1* is translated from a book source of that date or earlier, it might be expected to show signs of (1) and (3), while if it is merely a retelling of an old story, whether prose or verse, (2) points to a tendency at that time largely to obliterate marks of its source.

The fact that many of the descriptive phrases in the text of *V1* can be paralleled from other works of approximately the same date<sup>4</sup> (especially Huntingdon's *Hist. Anglor.* and *CM*, and to a less striking degree *Sx*) means simply that they belonged to the fashionable rhetoric of the time; but, on the other hand, the fact that some of them appear in the translation of *Brunanburh* means that their presence is no argument against an Old English source if traces of this be found.

There is at least one expression several times repeated (in part) which seems to me to deserve careful study in this connection: "Deuorauit gladius tuus hostes nostros, fulminans et cruentatus, hostili sanguine magnifice inebriatus."<sup>5</sup>

The construction suggests an order very common in Old English verse, and by no means characteristic of Latin: verb, subject, object, and a series of epithets qualifying subject (or object).<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ROLLS ed., pp. 160, 161. "Domesticæ reliquiae defuncti Edwardi" = "hamora lāfum eaforan Eadweardes" (*Br.*, 6, 7); "a genibus cognationum" = "fram cnēomāgum" (8); "pecunias et xenia" = "hord and hāmas" (10).

<sup>2</sup> "Mēca gemānan" (*Br.*, 40) = "de Martis congressu"; "sweordum āswefede (*Br.*, 30) = "gladiis percussi"; "wērig wīges saed" (*Br.*, 20) = "bello fatigati"; "gārmittinge" (*Br.*, 50) = "wāēpen gewrixles (*Br.*, 51) = "ictuum immanitate, telorum transforatione"; "ēoredcystum" (*Br.*, 21) = "prius electi."

<sup>3</sup> "Heardes handplegan" (*Br.*, 25) = "duro manus ludo"; "corvus niger, ore cornutus et buffo livens, aquila cum milvo, canis lupusque mixtus colore his sunt deliciis diu recreati"

= "Lēton . . . .

. . . . . ðone sweartan hraefn,  
hyrnednebban," etc.

—*Br.*, 60-65.

<sup>4</sup> For example, all those quoted in n. 2 from the translation of *Brunanburh* find equivalents in *V*, in other parts of *Hist. Anglor.*, in *CM*, and some of them in *Sx*.

<sup>5</sup> *V*, 4, 42, 43; cf. *V*, 3, ll. 20, 49, 50; 5, l. 12. The lines are an approach to a rude couplet; but this is perhaps accidental.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *B.*, 325, 326, 728-30, 1020-22, 1035-37, 1125-27, 1443, 1444, 1543-47, 2190-92, 2337-39, 2367, 2368, 2542-46, 3110-14, etc.

*Deuorauit gladius* is a figure used in the *Vulgate*, but it also suggests the Old English "*billes bite*."<sup>1</sup> *Gladius* . . . *fulminans*, though the verb seems to be used in classical Latin of the gleam of armor, suggests the Old English *swyrd-lēoma*.<sup>2</sup> *Cruentatus*, though good Latin, also translates the Old English *blōdig* or *blōd-fāg*. More significant is the combination "*deuorauit gladius* . . . *fulminans*," when read in connection with the Old English: "*sē beado-lēoma bītan nolde*;"<sup>3</sup> and most important of all is the use of the word *inebriatus*, which does not seem to be quoted in any Latin dictionary in the context in which it stands in this sentence. The word means literally "intoxicated;" in a rare figurative sense, "soaked," as material in dye. The literal meaning seems to me suggestive of the Old English mode of thought. *Beowulf*, 2358, 2359, reads:

Hrēðles eafora, hioro-dryncum swealt  
bille gebēaten:

The sense is evidently that Hygelac, struck down by the sword, died a bloody death. The literal meaning of *hioro-dryncum* is *sword-drink*;<sup>4</sup> i. e., he died because a sword drank his blood; as he might have died of *snake-bite*, the chief difference between the two being that the idea in the former has advanced beyond the literal *sword-cut* into a figurative conception of the weapon personified<sup>5</sup> as drinking the blood. While the sword in *Beowulf* is often personified, it is several times represented as biting,<sup>6</sup> but never as drinking the blood;<sup>7</sup> still the passage quoted furnishes grounds for holding that *inebriatus* may have been represented by an Old English phrase such as *drēore druncen*.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> B., 2060; cf. 2259.

<sup>2</sup> *Finnsb.*, 35.

<sup>3</sup> B., 1523; cf. also B., 1454, 2259.

<sup>4</sup> BOSWORTH-TOLLER: *heoru-drync* = the sword's drink, blood flowing from a wound.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. 1522-28, 2584-86.

<sup>6</sup> *Lād-bite* = "wound," B., 1122.

<sup>7</sup> A personified sword might have been conceived as acting after the manner of Grendel: "*bāt bān-locan, blōd ēdrum dranc*" (B., 742).

<sup>8</sup> Little stress should perhaps be laid on the fact that the sentence lends itself readily to translation into Old English verse:

"Bāt beado-lēoma { blōdig  
                                  { blōd-fāg (ūre) lāðas,  
Secga swāte swīfe bestȳmed,  
Drēore druncen [dryhtlic īren]."

Cf. *Andreas*, 1002, 1003:

"Hæðene swæfon  
Drēore druncne dēaðwang rūdon."



The cumulative effect of these various possibilities of referring the Latin to an English original,<sup>1</sup> and the numerous allusions in a similar strain to Offa's sword, may be added to the previously mentioned reasons for believing in a definite account in English of the battle.<sup>2</sup>

In summing up the probabilities, it is useful to compare the notice of the *Battle of Maldon* by Henry of Huntingdon and Florence of Worcester with the account in the Parker MS of the Saxon Chronicle.<sup>3</sup> That the scribe of this last had the poem in mind seems possible from the fact that he scratched out the dates marked for seven years in advance (his next year is 1001) to make room for the entry, which is much longer than in the other MSS. But Florence has the additional phrases: "strenuus dux . . . utrinque infinita multitudine caesa . . .," which in so careful a writer must mean further reference to the source of information; while Henry is still more definite: "gladiis caesus occubuit et phalanges ejus in perniciem redactae sunt." The plural *gladiis* shows that this addition is not mere rhetoric, but an allusion to the somewhat unusual circumstances under which Byrhtnoð was killed. After he had lost the use of his sword-arm, "Ðā hine hēowon hǣdene scealcas."<sup>4</sup> Further, according to the poem, his troop was actually annihilated—a fact not stated or even implied in the Parker MS. Therefore it seems to me almost certain that Florence and Henry drew upon the poem itself for their additional details. Hence, *Maldon* as well as *Brunanburh* was still known in the twelfth century; and if these, probably others.

If, then, we find, as in *V*, a battle account<sup>5</sup> two-thirds as long

<sup>1</sup> The phrase *campum Offe . . . reliquerunt* (*Y.*, 4, 4-6) is more suggestive of the Old English *forlēt on wælstōwe* (*Br.*, 42, 43) than is Henry's *loco secessit*, which is, however, a translation of it. It suggests also the "āhton wælstōwe gewald," so common in the account of Alfred's wars in the *Saxon Chronicle*.

<sup>2</sup> In both Danish and English versions there seems to be allusion to a particularly terrible blow; cf. the "unico gladii ictu percussit, amputatoque galee cono craneum usque ad cerebri medullam perforavit" (*V*, 3, 46, 47) with the "primo ferri ictu medium dissecat" of *Sz* (116, 24).

<sup>3</sup> *An.* 937.

<sup>4</sup> *Maldon*, 162-84, especially 181.

<sup>5</sup> It does not seem to me in any way possible that this can be a mere reflection or imitation of *Maldon*, for not only are the situations exactly reversed, but also, the Offa in *Maldon* plays a subordinate and entirely different part, being merely one of Byrhtnoð's thegns killed in avenging him.

as the *Battle of Maldon* would have been, if this had been translated by Huntingdon, showing possibilities of having been condensed, and if this contains details characteristically Teutonic, resembling passages in Old English verse, with one or two expressions suggestive of Old English idiom, it seems fairly certain that the source of this was an English poem.<sup>1</sup>

The question as to the probable content of this part of the saga in the twelfth century, its approximate date, its relation to other cycles, and the manner in which the compiler used it, must be largely a matter of conjecture; but there are various peculiarities in the text that point toward a solution.

#### I. THE CONTENT.

As the first part of *V1* lacks the characteristic Old English features noticeable in the battle text, and contains much rhetorical padding in connection with the miracle, the question arises whether the two parts of the text are based upon sources originally distinct. There are obviously two discrepancies:

1. Riganus is repeatedly stated to have been a nobleman of Warmund's country; while after the battle the war is described as "*inter alienigenas*."<sup>2</sup>

2. The sons of Aliel are called Otta and Milio before the battle, and Brutus and Sueno during the combat,<sup>3</sup> while the thirteenth-century rubricator suggests Hildebrandus as a cognomen for Brutus: "*miles strenuus ab ense sic dictus*."<sup>4</sup> There is in the text no attempt to reconcile these names."<sup>5</sup>

These facts seem to show that the compiler was working from at least two sources and was not over-careful in combining them.

The only distinctively epic feature in the first part is the allusion to *O1* as "*inutili ac vano murione*"<sup>6</sup>—a phrase suggestive of

<sup>1</sup> SUHM says that without doubt the names *Qualmweld* and *Blodiweld* are taken from some old poet (SUHM-GRÄTER, I, 120).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *V*, 2, ll. 25-27; and 4, l. 7.

<sup>3</sup> *V*, 3, l. 41, and 3, l. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Fol. 2a. *Sive Hildebrandus* (fol. 3b).

<sup>5</sup> In a marginal note on fol. 2b the rubricator attempts, but does not finish, a solution. He says that Aliel had three sons: "*Unus miles strenuus, alius adolescens superbus, tercius infans. Nomen primo Brutus, cognominato Hildebrandus*;" but he does not say whether the second and third were Otta and Milio, or whether Sueno was one of them.

<sup>6</sup> *V*, 2, ll. 40, 41. *Murio* represents the classical *morio*, which, while it regularly means "fool," is found in MARTIAL'S *Epigrammata* (6, 39, 17) as "monster," "deformed person."

the Danish Uffo, and often characteristic of the youth of the epic hero. Cf. *Beowulf*, 2183-89:

Hēan wæs lange.  
 swā hyne Gēata bearn gōdne ne tealdon.  
 no hyne on medo-bence micles wyrðne  
 drihten wereda gedōn wolde;  
 swyðe [wēn]don, þæt hē slēac wære;  
 æðeling unfrom. Edwenden<sup>1</sup> cwōm  
 tīr-ēadigum menn torna gehwylces.

Considering the marked mediæval character of this part of *V1*, the abundance of rhetoric and the obscurity of the allusions to O1's blindness and to the sword,<sup>2</sup> we are perhaps justified in deciding against the probability of any one definite, detailed source for this episode.

As to Warmund's speech of fifty-one lines, following close upon the end of the battle, while it is true that mediæval chroniclers are given to introducing fictitious orations into their histories, the following points are worth noting: (1) the tone or tenor of the thought shows considerable resemblance to that of Hroðgar's speeches to Beowulf after the latter's two combats, especially the second;<sup>3</sup> (2) it contains the longest lyric passage about the sword (*V*, 4, 42, 43); (3) several phrases are borrowed from it in the corresponding speech of Tuinfred,<sup>4</sup> and one at least transferred to O2's reply;<sup>5</sup> while in *V1*, O1's reply is summed up in the words *grates retulit accumulatas*.<sup>6</sup> This last fact, while it speaks against the existence of an independent source for the parallel situation in *V2*, does not necessarily imply a definite source for the speech in *V1*. It may mean only that the compiler repeated his own phrasing to strengthen the parallel.

Against the supposition that the speech belonged to the battle account may be mentioned two facts: (a) that the narrative seems to come to a fitting conclusion in the naming of the field;

<sup>1</sup> KRANTZ, *Chronica Regnorum Aquilonarivm* (Strassburg (?), 1562), uses the Latin equivalent in speaking of Uffo: "insignis facta est rerum, morumque conuersio" (p. 24).

<sup>2</sup> THORPE (LAPPENBERG, *Hist. of Eng. under the A. S. Kings*, London, 1845, I, 228 n. 1) mentioned this allusion as an indication that the compiler knew the story of Skrep; but it may as easily have been due to his acquaintance with the customs of chivalry. The text says only: "cum sollempni et regia pompa, gladio filium suum accinxit" (*V*, 2, 50).

<sup>3</sup> *B.*, 928-56 and 1700-1784.

<sup>4</sup> *V*, 11, ll. 53-56 and 12, ll. 1-5.

<sup>5</sup> *V*, 12, ll. 6-9.

<sup>6</sup> *V*, 5, l. 28.

(b) that the war, in the speech, as in the awakening, is alluded to as between natives of the same country (cf. *V*, 4, ll. 35-38, and 1, ll. 17-22).

The content of the materials used for this part of the text may be summed up as having included probably: (1) a detailed account, probably in popular verse, handed down in modified form from Saxon times, of the battle and combat; (2) vague and confused traditions in regard to the awakening, and to War-mund's achievements, abdication, and death.<sup>1</sup>

## II. THE APPROXIMATE DATE.

While *Widsið* and *Beowulf* know nothing of England, *V1* in its opening sentences states that Warmund was a famous king of the West Angles, from whom Warwick was named.<sup>2</sup> *Occidentaliū Anglorum* is not a blunder for *Orientaliū anglorum*, as Wats thought, but a synonym for *Merciorum*.<sup>3</sup> A charter of doubtful authenticity, signed, "Ego Offa nondum regno Merciorum a domino accepto puer indolis in provincia Huicciorum,"<sup>4</sup> implies a belief current in the twelfth century that O2 was born in the Gloucester-Warwick district; and this belief is in a measure supported by the numerous charters signed or confirmed by him,

<sup>1</sup> I have passed over the narrative of the combat in defense of Wermund's kingdom, as given in the *Historia . . . de Omnibus Gothorum Sveonumque Regibus* of JOANNES MAGNUS (Rome, 1554, *JM*) because this does not seem to me to be in any way related to *V*. However, it shows at least one curious coincidence, for which an explanation must be suggested. The account in *JM* is the only one in which, as in *V1*, the single combat is merely a feature of a general battle; but it is not possible to base upon this fact the conclusion that *JM* represents a Swedish tradition agreeing with *V* as against *Sv* and *Sx*, for two reasons: (1) that his narrative (pp. 97, 98) is pieced together out of two passages in *Sx* (ed. HOLDER, pp. 83, 30-33 and 85, 27-29, and 107, 27-30), which deal with different events and are inconsistent with each other; and (2) the hero of the combat is Frowin, not Uffo. While it is not easy to see why these materials are so manipulated, the result attained is: a composite battle account in which the description in *Sx* of a single combat between one Ubbo (whom *JM* himself mentions briefly, pp. 95, 96, "athleta Ubbo, Danicus siue (vt alii scribunt) Frisius," as having been mortally wounded in the time of Roderick Slingabond, Attilus's father) and a Vandal is introduced with slight changes, and applied to Frowin and Attilus; and notwithstanding the previous agreement, the combat is followed by renewed fighting between the armies until the Danes are annihilated. A Swedish history such as *JM* would not need to concern itself with Uffo; and as the Ubbo combat, known but obscurely to *JM*, is related at length in *Sx* and has nothing in common with Uffo or Offa, it is clear that the resemblance between *JM* and *V* is merely superficial.

<sup>2</sup> He is said to have been buried at Gloucester, *V*, 5, 53.

<sup>3</sup> GREEN, *Making of England* (London, 1897), I, 95, 96. The West Angles were so called because they lived near the marches of Wales.

<sup>4</sup> BIRCH, *Cartularium Saxonicum* (London, 1885-99), I, no. 183, c. an. 757.

attesting early benefactions to the church of Worcester.<sup>1</sup> It is probable, then, that the localization of Warmund and O1 in England did not begin until after the fame of O2 was established.<sup>2</sup>

Hence, ancient tales antedating the coming of the Angles to England were reinforced and modified by the historic career of an eighth-century king; and after about three centuries of confusion, reached the compiler in twelfth-century forms.

### III. THE CYCLE TO WHICH THE STORY BELONGED.

There seem to me to be unmistakable indications that the material used in *V* 7 is part of an extensive saga of Angle or Anglo-Norse origin in which Offa, Wade, and Hildebrand figured prominently, and perhaps Weyland,<sup>3</sup> Theodoric, and other heroes mentioned in *Widsið*.

In *V* 1, we find Offa fighting against Hildebrand and Sueno, the sons of Riganus (*Rig*). In the Norse *Hildebrand's Lay*, the hero calls himself a Dane, the son of *Rig's* granddaughter. Torfæus uses *Rig* (= *rex*) as a title given to Wermund.<sup>4</sup> The importance of this confusion lies in the fact that he identifies the word with the Celtic *riġh*; and, notwithstanding his blunder in bringing the two names together, shows that some association existed in his mind between *Rig*, Wermund, and Offa. Further, the *Rig* mentioned in *Ynglingatal*, and *Rigspula* belongs, according to Vigfusson and Powell, to the West; hence there is a probability that Offa, *Rig*, Wermund and Hildebrand (*Sueno*?) were associated in a Western cycle.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. BIRCH, I, 183, 187, 216, 234, 235, 236, 239, 240, 241.

<sup>2</sup> Warmund and O1 are mentioned also in connection with Penda, 626, in WHELOC's edition of Otho B xi of the *Saxon Chronicle* (EARLE-PLUMMER, p. xiii); hence, this localization of Angle heroes in England may have begun in connection with Penda, who was also a popular hero; but the evidence of *Widsið* goes to show that it was not before the eighth century.

<sup>3</sup> BUGGE (*Home of Ed. Poems*, tr. SCHOFIELD, Grimm's Library, XL, 374) believes in a western origin for the *Lay of Weyland*.

<sup>4</sup> *Hist. Rer. Norveg.*, 1241, I, 1711, 414.

<sup>5</sup> On what grounds *Riganburne* was identified with the Avon I do not know; but this localization strengthens the belief that *Rig* was familiar in England. Various names compounded with *Rig* are given in *Domesday Book*, as *Rigbi*, *Rigge*, *Righeborg*, *Rigesbi*, *Righesbi*, *Righeshalam*, *Rigneseta*. Most of them situated in Warwick-, Lincoln-, and Yorkshire; but I have not been able to find *Riganburne*. For the identification of *Rig-Heimdal* with *Scef* see RYDBERG, *Undersök. i Germ. Myth.* (Stockholm, 1886, 1889), 1: a häftet, pp. 102-107; or *Teut. Myth.*, tr. ANDERSON (London, 1889), 90-95.

Hildebrand appears again in the recently discovered Wade fragment:<sup>1</sup>

Summe sende ylues  
and summe sende nadderres  
summe sende nikeres  
the biden patez (bi den watere?) wunien  
Nister man nenne  
bute ildebrand onne.

Here the situation bears a resemblance to that alluded to in *Waldhere*, 72–76, in which Widia, Wade's grandson, and Hildebrand rescue Theodoric from a den of monsters:

Ic wāt, þæt hit ðōhte ðeodric Widian  
selfum onsendon and ēac sinc micel  
māðma mid ði mēce, monig ðōres mid him  
golde gegirwan, iulean genām,  
þæs ðe hine of nearwum Niðhādes mæg,  
Welandes bearn, Widia ūt forlēt:  
ðurh fifela gefeald forð onette.

—GREIN-WÜLCKER, B, 4–10.

But Wade and Sueno (Suanus) appear in Map's twelfth-century story of Gado,<sup>2</sup> and here both are connected with Offa, who, from allusions to wars with the Welsh and the dyke, is clearly O2. Suanus here is not his enemy, but his nephew, who assists him to defend a town against the Roman emperor, probably Charlemagne. Gado, however, the son of the king of the Vandals, the *virum maximum* of wonderful powers, who had traveled widely about the world, is evidently the *Wada* who ruled *Hælsingum*,<sup>3</sup> the *Vadus Gigas* of the *Wilkinga saga*.<sup>4</sup>

And, last of all, Theodoric, who in *Waldhere* is related to Wade through Widia and Hildebrand, comes into contact with the *Volsunga saga*, being mentioned in the *Ordeal of Gudrun*<sup>5</sup> as Gudrun's lover; while to complete the circle, Ordrun in her

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Academy*, Vol. XLIX, No. 1241; *Athenæum*, No. 3564, 1896.

<sup>2</sup> *De Nug. Cur.*, ed. WRIGHT, Camden Soc., 1850, Distinc. II, xvii. The name is said to be *Grado* in the first two instances in the MS, but afterwards *Gado*.

<sup>3</sup> *Widsið*, l. 22.

<sup>4</sup> MICHEL, *Wade* (Paris, Londres, 1837), pp. 12, 13 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Corp. Poet. Bor.*, I, p. 322, 7, 17.

*Lament*<sup>1</sup> tells how she was away at Geirmund's when her lover Gunnar (= OE. *Guthere*) was cast into the pit of serpents.

Of these persons Wada, Theodoric, Attila, Guthere, Widia (= Wudga), and Offa are mentioned in *Widsið*,<sup>2</sup> Weland and Theodoric in *Deor's Lament*.<sup>3</sup>

From these facts we must conclude, I think, in favor of a strong probability that the "apocryphal" legends, which the author of J had collected and questioned in regard to Offa of Mercia, were very old tales in which some or all of the above-mentioned heroes figured. No doubt the lost poem of Wade,<sup>4</sup> which Map's poem may partly have summarized, partly adapted, would have contained matter relating to O1, and the cycle of which he was a part,<sup>5</sup> but in a measure transferred to O2.

On the other hand, the character and localization of the war, and nature of the *Qualmweld* and *Blodiweld*—implying, as they do, a historic battle with indiscriminate slaughter (*folc-gefeohht*) rather than the epic man-to-man combat<sup>6</sup>—indicate that the tradition was modified after the time of O2, so much so that for the compiler the older stratum was inextricably confused with the newer, and the parallel was his only way out of the difficulty.

#### IV. THE MANNER IN WHICH THE COMPILER USED HIS MATERIALS.

Though the modifications made in the original saga after the time of O2 might have led the compiler to see the parallel between the early military careers of the two kings, they do not explain what justification he found for altering the awakening into the miracle. A possible solution of this lies in the use of the name *Pinefredus*.<sup>7</sup> This, although not found elsewhere, is stated

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 313, l. 108; cf. p. 559, n. on ll. 104-110.

<sup>2</sup> *W.*, 22, 24, 115, 35 f., 66, 122, 130.

<sup>3</sup> *Deor.*, 1-20.

<sup>4</sup> Of the various historic Wades, only one (*dux*) was contemporary with Offa, a Northumbrian who was prominent in an insurrection (*Sim. Durh. Hist. Reg.*, Rolls Series, 1885, *CM* and *Chron. Mailros.*, GALE, I, 1684, p. 140, an. 798).

<sup>5</sup> The fragmentary *chanson de geste*, *Gormon et Isembart*, has nothing to do with the early Garmund (= Warmund, Wærmund, Wermund), but legends of the ninth-century Gormond may have helped to keep alive and confuse earlier tales.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. the Danish names: *Kunengikamp* (LANG., I, 152); *Konungskamp* (*ibid.*, I, 84); *Konincksfeldia* (MEYERII, *Opera*, IX, 38B); *Koninghesslap*, *Herm. Corn. Chron.* (ECCARDUS, *Corp. Hist. Med. Æv.*, Leipzig, 1723, II, col. 478).

<sup>7</sup> *V.*, 10, ll. 12, 24, 52; 11, l. 8.

in *V*2 to have been the king's real name, *Offa* having been bestowed upon him by the Mercians in recognition of his likeness to *O*1.<sup>1</sup> The name *Pinefred* is evidently a blunder for *Winefred*;<sup>2</sup> and as *Winfred*<sup>3</sup> is found in several chronicles instead of *Dincgferþ*, we are justified in inferring a double blunder by virtue of which *Dincgferþ* has been converted into *Tuinfred* and *Pinefred*, the confusion of OE. *þ* and *p* being as common as *þ* and *ρ* (*w*). It is easy to see how, upon the differentiation of this name on some genealogical list, it might have been taken to refer to father and son.<sup>4</sup> Having decided that *Pinefred* was the true name, the compiler might naturally look upon *Offa* as a cognomen given by reason of some quality.<sup>5</sup> If a Latinist conceived that *Riganus* was so called from his *rigor*, *Hildebrand* from his *sword*, and that *Drida* became *Cyneðryð* when she was *queen*,<sup>6</sup> he might have supposed that *Offa* was so named from the fact that he was an *offa*, i. e., an abortion or monstrosity.<sup>7</sup> This explanation tallies with his description of the child as not only blind, deaf, and dumb, but also as lacking developed arms and legs until the miracle occurred.<sup>8</sup> Since *O*2's likeness to *O*1 is stated on the basis of the miracle rather than the battle (*quia a Deo respectus et electus fuisset, eodem modo quo et Rex Offa filius regis War-mundi*),<sup>9</sup> the intrusion of the miraculous element into *V*1 may be explained as an attempt to combine the idea in the word *offa* with

<sup>1</sup> *V*, 11, ll. 2-4.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Pybba* = *Wippa*; *Eawa* = *Eapa*, *Epa* (HUNT., *Hist. Anglor. an.* 755; COTTON, *Hist. Anglicana*, Rolls Series, 1859; BROMTON, *Chronicon* in TWYSDEN, *an.* 755, *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores* X, London, 1652, col. 776, ll. 7, 8.

<sup>3</sup> *Wingferd* (Hunt.); *Winfred* (Cott.).

<sup>4</sup> Another suggestion, that instead of *Offa Dincgferþing*, *Dincgferþ Aanwulfing*, the relationship might have been represented as "*Offa, bearn Dincgferþes*" and misinterpreted to mean *born Dincgferþ* (*Pinefred*), receives a certain support from Gaimar's "*Fiz Brand, fiz Beldeging (Lestorie des Engles, Rolls Series, 1888, ll. 839-41), Fiz Beldeg nez Winhing: Beldeg fu del linage Wodnez,*" etc., which makes a very similar blunder, reading "*son of Beldeg born Winhing*" for "*son of Beldeg, son of Woden.*" Does not *nez* here represent *bearn*, interpreted *born*?

<sup>5</sup> *V*, 11, ll. 2, 3, 8.

<sup>6</sup> *V*, 23, l. 25.

<sup>7</sup> The word means "*morsel*," "*shapeless lump*," hence "*abortion*." Is it possible that the form *Offanus* may have some bearing in this connection? The ending *-anus* means "*belonging to*" or "*derived from*" (KÜHNER, *Ausführliche Grammatik der Lateinischen Sprache*, Hannover, 1877, I, 672, 673); hence, *rig(or)* gives *Riganus*, *offa*, *Offanus*.

<sup>8</sup> "*Fecit alices, brachia, crura, pedes, extendendo*" (*V*, 10, 54).

<sup>9</sup> *V*, 11, ll. 3, 4.



the common idea of *morio* in the old tale. There is, moreover, a certain justification for this compromise in the fact that tales of *Ungeborne* were as common as those of sluggish, unpromising heroes;<sup>1</sup> hence muteness might be attributed to physical defect as easily as to sulkiness,<sup>2</sup> and the miracle would explain everything and complete the parallel.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Volsungr, Sigurðr, Sceaf (?), Uni, Ulfrun, Halfrun, Haldan, Helgi, Starkaðr, Dietleib (GRIMM, *Deutsche Myth.*, ed. MEYER, 1875, I, 322, 323).

<sup>2</sup> Once established in the case of O2, the identity of name alone is sufficient to carry the miracle back into V1.